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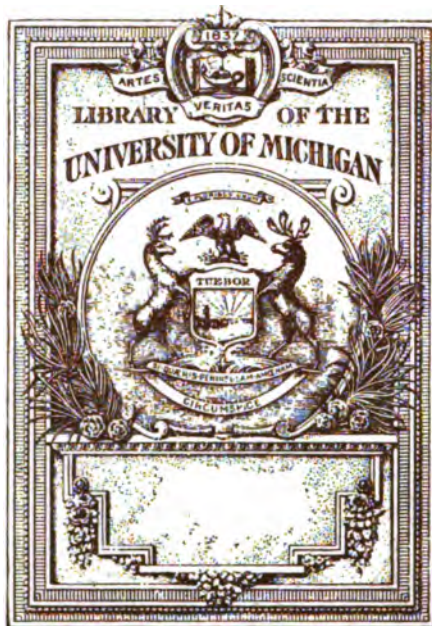
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BREVIS NARRATIO

EORVM QVAE IN FLORIDA AMERICAE PROVINCIA
Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Navigatione, du-
ce Renato de Laudoniere classis Praefato

ANNO M D LXIII.

QVAE EST SECUNDA PARS AMERICAЕ.

Additae figurae et Incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivum expressae,
brevis item Declaratio Religionis, rituum, vivendi quae-
ratione ipsorum.

Auctore

Iacobo le Moine, cui cognomen de Morgues, Laudonierum,
in ea Navigatione sequuto.

Nunc primum Gallico sermone à Theodoro de Bry Leodienſe
in lucem edita: latior vero donata à C. G. B.

Cum gratia & privilegio Caes. Majest. ad quadriennium.



FRANCOFORTI AD MOENVM
Typis Ioannis Wecheli, Sumptibus vero Theodori
de Bry ANNO M D XCI.
Venales reperuntur in officina Sigismundi Frobenii

NARRATIVE OF LE MOYNE,

AN ARTIST WHO ACCOMPANIED THE

B 2445

FRENCH EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA.

UNDER LAUDONNIÈRE, 1564.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF DE BRY,

WITH HELIOTYPES OF THE ENGRAVINGS TAKEN FROM THE ARTIST'S ORIGINAL DRAWINGS.



Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues



BOSTON:
JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY,
(LATE TICKNOR & FIELDS, AND FIELDS, OSGOOD, & Co.)

1875.

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BOSTON:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY RAND, AVERY, & CO.

THE Spaniards, having made several disastrous expeditions into Florida, had left it for a time unmolested. The French Protestants, attempting to colonize under Ribaud, built Charlefort at Port Royal in 1562, and Fort Caroline under Laudonnière, at the River May (now St. John's, Florida), in 1564. The former was abandoned, leaving no traces but a few French names, which still designate the spot; the latter, exciting the jealousy and religious indignation of the Spaniards (for the two nations were at peace), was assaulted and taken by them under Menendez, who afterwards founded St. Augustine, somewhat farther south.

These heliotypes are copies of engravings from original drawings by Le Moyne, surnamed Le Morgues, sent by the French Government to accompany the Huguenot expedition under Laudonnière. Having escaped the massacre by the Spaniards at Fort Caroline, the artist lived for a time in England, where he died; and his widow sold his manuscripts and drawings to De Bry.

Hakluyt having long ago published an English translation of the relations of Ribaud and Laudonnière, it would seem superfluous to reproduce them here.

The drawings are worth perusal from the information they give of the habits of the aborigines three hundred years ago, as well as the arms and costumes of the Europeans of the same period, and give sufficient evidence that the artist visited the country. For instance, no one not familiar with alligators could have represented them with so much accuracy, though in the lapse of three hundred years they appear to have deteriorated in size.

1

2

NOTE.

The Artist's surname should read " De Morgues " instead of " Le Morgues ; " the other mistakes the reader will readily discover.

NARRATIVE OF LE MOYNE, SURNAMED LE MORGUES,

AN ARTIST WHO ACCOMPANIED THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA UNDER LAUDONNIERE, 1564.

[Translated from the Latin of De Bry, and printed for William Appleton. Boston: 1874.]

CHARLES IX., King of France, having been notified by the Admiral de Châtillon that there was too much delay in sending forward the re-enforcements needed by the small body of French whom Jean Ribaud had left to maintain the French dominion in Florida, gave orders to the admiral to fit out such a fleet as was required for the purpose. The admiral, in the mean while, recommended to the king a nobleman of the name of Renaud de Laudonnière; a person well known at court, and of varied abilities, though experienced not so much in military as in naval affairs. The king accordingly appointed him his own lieutenant, and appropriated for the expedition the sum of a hundred thousand francs. The admiral, who was a man endowed with all the virtues, and eminent for Christian piety, was so zealous for the faithful doing of the king's business, as to give special instructions to Laudonnière, exhorting him in particular to use all manner of diligence in doing his duty, and first of all, since he professed to be a religious man, to select the right sort of men, and such as feared God, to be of his company. He would do well, in the next place, to engage as many skilled mechanics of all kinds as possible. In order to give him better facilities for these purposes he received a royal commission, bearing the king's seal.

Laudonnière accordingly repaired to Havre de Grace, where he proceeded to get his ships ready, and, according to his orders, with the greatest diligence sought out good men all over the kingdom; so that I can safely assert that men of remarkable skill in all sorts of mechanical employments resorted to him. There also assembled a number of noble youths of ancient families, drawn only by the desire of viewing foreign countries; for they asked no pay, volunteering for the expedition at their own cost and charges. The soldiers were chosen veterans, every man competent to act as an officer in time of battle. From Dieppe were obtained the two best navigators of our times, Michael le Vasseur and his brother Thomas le Vasseur, both of whom were employed in the king's naval service. I also received orders to join the expedition, and to report to M. de Laudonnière.

All who came he received with courtesy and with magnificent promises. As, however, I was not unaware that the gentlemen of the court are in the habit of being liberal with their promises, I asked

for some positive statements of his own views, and of the particular object which the king desired to obtain in commanding my services. Upon this he promised that no services except honorable ones should be required of me; and he informed me that my special duty, when we should reach the Indies, would be to map the seacoast, and lay down the position of towns, the depth and course of rivers, and the harbors; and to represent also the dwellings of the natives, and whatever in the province might seem worthy of observation: all of which I performed to the best of my ability, as I showed his majesty, when, after having escaped from the remarkable perfidies and atrocious cruelties of the Spaniards, I returned to France.

On the 20th April, 1564, our three ships set sail from Havre de Grace, and steered direct for the Fortunate Islands, or, as seafaring men call them, the Canaries. Sailing thence, on the tropic we made the Antilles Islands, at one of which, called Dominica, we watered, losing, however, two men. Making sail again, we reached the coast of Florida, or New France as it is called, on Thursday, 22d June.

M. de Laudonnière having reconnoitred the stream named by Ribaud the River of May, and finding it of easy navigation for ships, and offering a suitable place for a fort, set promptly about preparing to erect one, and sent back to France his largest ship, the "Elizabeth of Honfleur," commanded by Jean Lucas. Meanwhile all the seashore was occupied by immense numbers of men and women, who kept up fires, and against whom we naturally thought it necessary to be much on our guard. Gradually, however, it appeared that to injure us was the last thing in their thoughts: on the other hand, they showed numerous testimonies of friendship and liking, being seized with great admiration at finding our flesh so different from theirs in softness and tenderness, and our garments so different from their own. The commodities which we received from these new dealers were in great part such things as they value most, being for the support of life or the protection of the body. Such were grains of maize roasted, or ground into flour, or whole ears of it; smoked lizards or other wild animals, such as they consider great delicacies; and various kinds of roots, some for food, and some for medicine. When they found out after a time that the French were more desirous of metals and minerals, some brought them. M. de Laudonnière, who soon perceived that our men were acting avariciously in their dealing, now forbade, on pain of death, any trading or exchange with the Indians for gold, silver, or minerals, unless all such should be put into a common stock for the benefit of all.

In the mean time several chiefs visited our commander, and signified to him that they were under the authority of a certain king named Saturioua, within the limits of whose dominions we were, whose dwelling was near us, and who could muster a force of some thousands of men. This information was thought good reason for hastening the completion of our fort. King Saturioua himself, on his part, like a prudent commander, sent out his scouts from day to day, to see what we were about; and being advised by them that we had marked out a triangle by stretching cords, and were digging up the earth on the lines of it, he became desirous of seeing for himself. He sent forward, however, some two hours in advance of his own appearance, an officer with a company of a hundred and twenty able-bodied men, armed with bows, arrows, clubs, and darts, and adorned, after the Indian manner, with their riches; such as feathers of different kinds, necklaces of a select sort of shells, bracelets of fishes' teeth, girdles of silver-colored balls, some round and some oblong; and having many pearls fastened on their legs. Many of them had also hanging to their legs round flat plates of gold, silver, or brass, so that in walking they tinkled like little bells. This officer, having made his announce-

ment, proceeded to cause shelter to be erected on a small height near by, of branches of palms, laurels, mastics, and other odoriferous trees, for the accommodation of the king. From this point the king could see whatever was going on within our lines; and a few tents and military supplies and baggage, which we had not yet found time to get under cover; as our first business was to get our fort completed, rather than to put up huts, which could be easily erected more at leisure afterwards.

M. de Laudonnière, upon receiving the message of the officer, so disposed his force as to be prepared for a stout resistance in case of attack, although they had no ammunition on shore for their defence. In the next place, as he had himself while with Ribaud on a former occasion stopped here, and seen this same chief, had learned a few words of his language, and knew the ceremonial with which he expected to be received; and as one of his men, an intelligent and active person, who had also been here with Ribaud, and was now a captain, possessed the same information, — M. de Laudonnière decided that it would be best for none to approach the king's presence except himself, M. d'Ottigny his second in command, and Capt. La Caille just referred to.

The king was accompanied by seven or eight hundred men, handsome, strong, well-made, and active fellows, the best-trained and swiftest of his force, all under arms as if on a military expedition. Before him marched fifty youths with javelins or spears; and behind these, and next to himself, were twenty pipers, who produced a wild noise, without musical harmony or regularity, but only blowing away with all their might, each trying to be the loudest. Their instruments were nothing but a thick sort of reeds, or canes, with two openings; one at the top to blow into, and the other at the other end for the wind to come out of, like organ-pipes or whistles. On his right hand limped his soothsayer, and on the left was his chief counsellor; without which two personages he never proceeded on any matter whatever. He entered the place prepared for him alone, and sat down in it after the Indian manner; that is, by squatting on the ground like an ape or any other animal. Then having looked all around, and having observed our little force drawn up in line of battle, he ordered MM. de Laudonnière and d'Ottigny to be invited into his tabernacle, where he delivered to them a long oration, which they understood only in part. He did, however, inquire who we were, why we had landed on his territory rather than elsewhere, and what was our purpose. M. de Laudonnière replied by the mouth of Capt. La Caille, who, as was mentioned, had some knowledge of the language, that he was sent by a most powerful king, called the King of France, to offer a treaty by which he should become a friend to the king here, and to his allies, and an enemy to their enemies; an announcement which the chief received with much pleasure. Gifts were then exchanged in pledge of perpetual friendship and alliance. This done, the king approached nearer to our force, and greatly admired our arms, particularly the arquebuses. Upon coming up to the ditch of our fort, he took measurements both within and without; and perceiving that the earth was being taken from the ditch, and laid into a rampart, he asked what was the use of the operation. He was told in reply that we were going to put up a building that would hold all of us, and that many small houses were to be erected inside of it; at which he expressed admiration, and a desire to see it completed as soon as possible. To this end, he was therefore asked to give us the help of some of his followers in the work. He consented, and sent us eighty of his stoutest men, most used to labor, who were of great assistance to us, and much hastened the completion both of our fort and cabins. Having given his orders about this, he himself went away.

While all this was going on, every man of our force — noblemen, soldiers, artificers, sailors, and all — was hard at work to get our post in a state of defence against an enemy, and to get up a shelter from

the weather; and every man was making sure, from the amount of the gifts and trading so far, that he would quickly become rich.

The fort being now completed, and a residence for himself, as well as a large building to contain the provisions and other indispensable military supplies, M. de Laudonnière proceeded to shorten the allowance of food and drink: so that, after three weeks, only one glass of spirit and water, half and half, was given out daily per man; and as for provisions, which it had been hoped would be abundant in this New World, none at all were found; and, unless the natives had furnished us from their own stores from day to day, some of us must assuredly have perished from starvation, especially such as did not know how to use fire-arms in hunting.

In the mean while M. de Laudonnière ordered his chief artificer, Jean des Hayes of Dieppe, to build two shallops, to be, according to my recollection, of thirty-five or forty feet keel, for exploring in the upper waters of the river, and along the seacoast; which were in good season nearly completed.

But by this time the noblemen who had come from France to the New World from ambitious motives only, and with splendid outfits, began to be greatly dissatisfied at finding that they realized none of the advantages which they had imagined, and promised themselves; and complaints began daily to be made by many of them. On the other part M. de Laudonnière himself, who was a man too easily influenced by others, evidently fell into the hands of three or four parasites, and treated with contempt the soldiers, who were just those whom he should have most considered. And, what is far worse, indignation began to be felt by many who professed the desire of living according to the doctrine of the reformed gospel, for the reason that they found themselves without a minister of God's word.

But to return to King Saturioua. This chief sent messengers to M. de Laudonnière, not only to confirm the league which had been made, but also to procure the performance of its conditions, namely, that the latter was to be the friend of the king's friends, and the enemy of his enemies; as he was now organizing an expedition against them. M. de Laudonnière gave an ambiguous reply to these ambassadors; for we had learned, in the course of an extended voyage up the main stream of the River of May, that the enemy of our neighbor King Saturioua was far more powerful than he; and that, moreover, his friendship was indispensable to, us for the reason that the road to the Apalatcy Mountains (which we were desirous of reaching, because we were informed that most of the gold and silver which we had received in trade was brought thence) lay through his dominions. Besides, some of our people were already with him, who had already sent to the fort a good deal of gold and silver, and were negotiating with him; for M. de Laudonnière had orders to treat with this great king, Outina, on the same terms as above mentioned.

King Saturioua, having received this cold answer, now came to the fort, which was called Fort Carolina, with some twelve or fifteen hundred men; but finding, to his surprise, that things were greatly changed, that he could no longer get across the ditch, but that there was only one entrance to the post, and that a very narrow one, he came thither, and found Capt. La Caille; who announced to him, that, for the purpose of an interview, he would not be admitted into the fort unless without his men, or at most with not more than twenty of such as he might select. In astonishment at this information, he, however, dissimulated, and entered the fort with twenty of his followers, when every thing was exhibited to him. He was terribly frightened himself at the sound of the drums and trumpets, and at the reports of the brass cannon which were fired in his presence; and, when he was told that all his force had run

away, he readily believed it, as he would gladly have been farther off himself. This, indeed, made our name great through all those parts; and, in fact, much more than the reality was believed of us. He did, however, after all, notify M. de Laudonnière that his faith was pledged, that his own (King Saturioua's) forces were ready, that his supplies were at hand, and that his own subordinate chiefs were assembled. Failing, however, to obtain what he wished, he set out on his expedition with his own men.

While these affairs were in progress, M. de Laudonnière sent his second ship, commanded by Pierre Capitaine [*Petrus Centurio*], to France. And now let the reader be pleased to observe how many were those who sought to return home. Among others, one young nobleman, De Marillac by name, was so earnestly desirous of going, that he promised M. de Laudonnière, if the latter would send him back in charge of despatches, to reveal to him matters of the utmost importance touching his life and good name; on condition, however, that the papers containing these revelations should not be opened until after he (Marillac) had embarked. M. de Laudonnière too credulously agreed to this proposition.

On the very day when the ship was to sail, a certain nobleman of the name of M. de Gièvre, of a good family, of the rank of count, one who feared God, and was liked by all, received warning, five or six hours before the time at which the information promised was to be put into the hands of M. de Laudonnière, that he would do well to escape, for that Marillac had laid a plot against him. He accordingly took refuge in the woods to shun the wrath of M. de Laudonnière, to whom Marillac had delivered some infamous libels written, as he asserted, in the hand of M. de Gièvre. Their purport was, that Laudonnière had made a wrongful use of the hundred thousand francs given him by the king, since he had brought no supply of provisions over with him; that he had not brought over, as the admiral directed him to do, a minister of God's word; that he bestowed too much of his favor on tattlers and praters, but despised those of real merit; and many other things which I do not now remember.

This exile of M. de Gièvre was unwelcome to many good men, who, however, all kept silence. Gradually, however, some began to be dissatisfied with the bad provision of food, and others with the excess of labor required, and with its severity; particularly certain of the nobles, who considered that they should have been treated with more respect. After various interchange of opinions between individuals, secret consultations began to be held, at first by five or six persons only, but by more and more, until as many as thirty were engaged. But among the first who thus began to consult was one especial favorite of M. de Laudonnière; and it is absolutely certain that it was the very best of the soldiers and noblemen who were engaged in these consultations, and that these influenced the rest; passing over those whom they despised as deficient in shrewdness, and whom, therefore, they did not admit into their counsels.

At a proper time, they addressed themselves to Capt. La Caille, to whom the plan had so far not been revealed, because all knew him to be a man of integrity himself, and who would require the utmost loyalty in all matters of duty from others. Him they now besought, that, as he was the senior captain, he would interest himself in this matter, which concerned all, and that he would consent to deliver to M. de Laudonnière their written statement of their grievances. La Caille promised his assistance; and, as they had selected him to take charge of the matter, he resolved to communicate it to M. de Laudonnière in their name, even though the commander should choose to be displeased, and even though he should risk his own life in consequence; since he believed their petition a proper one. On the next day, which was the Lord's Day, he went early to M. de Laudonnière's house, and requested him, in the name of all the company, to come to the place of public assembly, where he (La Caille) wished to communi-

cate to him a certain matter. All being assembled, M. de Laudonnière appeared with his second in command, M. d'Ottigny ; and, silence being proclaimed, Capt. La Caille proceeded to speak as follows :—

“ Sir, we all, who are here, in the first place protest that we recognize you as the lieutenant of the king, our supreme lord in this province, where our present settlement has been founded in his name ; and that we will obey your orders in this very honorable expedition, even though for his majesty's sake our lives shall be poured out before you, as you have already known by experiment in the case of great part of those who are here present, among whom are many of noble rank, who to the neglect of their own advantage have followed you as volunteers at their own expense. In the next place, they would now with all due respect remind you, that, before leaving France, pledges were given to each of them that provisions sufficient for one whole year should be brought over, and that additional supplies should be at hand before those were exhausted ; while so far was this from being the case the provisions brought were scarcely one month's supply.

“ The Indians, after a time, began to be slow in bringing in supplies, because they found that most of us had no longer any thing to give for them ; and it is not unknown to you that these savages do not give any thing without getting something for it. When after this they found that no commodities at all were forthcoming from any of us, and when the soldiers undertook to extort supplies from them by blows (as some of them began to do, to the great grief of the wiser among them), they deserted the whole neighborhood ; so that we lost even those sources of supply which we had, and even with the continued aid of which we had nothing better to expect than the extremity of hunger. In order, therefore, to remedy these difficulties, those present most urgently beseech you to cause the third of the ships which brought us from France, now lying in the river, to be repaired and fitted out ; to man her with such persons as you may see fit ; and to send her to New Spain, which is not far from this province, to obtain supplies by purchase or otherwise ; not doubting that this measure will relieve us. Or, if any better measures shall be suggested, they are ready to acquiesce in them.” This was the substance of the address at this assembly.

M. de Laudonnière's reply was brief : that they had no title to require an account from him of his actions ; that, as to supplies, he would provide for them, as he still had several casks full of merchandise which he would put into the common stock in order that they might trade with the Indians for provisions ; that, as to sending to New Spain, he never would do it ; but that instead he would let them take the two shallops that had been begun, for coasting-voyages within two or three hundred miles, by which they would be able to collect provisions enough and to spare. With this reply, the assembly was dismissed.

M. de Laudonnière had been sending out men to explore the remoter parts of the country, more particularly those in the vicinity of the great King Outina, the enemy of our own neighbor, and from whom, by the channel of some of our Frenchmen who had got into relations with him, a good deal of gold and silver had been sent to the fort, as well as pearls, and other valuable articles. But this duty was not allotted to everybody ; and, as those employed on it were supposed to be growing rich very fast, many began to be envious of them ; and, although M. de Laudonnière promised that every thing should be distributed equally to all, many were dissatisfied. For there was one La Roche Ferrière, who being a talkative person, and pretending to know every thing, had become so influential with M. de Laudonnière, as to be considered by him almost an oracle. I do not deny that he was a man of ability, and eminently useful in establishing this new acquisition of ours, or that it was due to his con-

tinued influence with the King Outina that the commodities referred to were sent into the fort. In return, five or six arquebusiers were sent to him, to be employed in one direction or another, as the occasions or necessities of himself or Outina might require. But, in brief, his operations resulted in Outina's making peace with some enemies of his near the mountains. With reference to this matter, he wrote to M. de Laudonnière to send some one to take his place, as he had various important affairs to communicate touching the king's service, and the honor and advantage of all.

Upon this, M. de Laudonnière at once sent out a person to take the place of La Roche Ferrière; who returned to the fort reporting that he had certain information that all the gold and silver which had been sent to it came from the Apalatcy Mountains, and that the Indians from whom he obtained it knew of no other place to get it, since they had got all they had had so far in warring with three chiefs, named Potanou, Onatheaqua, and Oustaca, who had been preventing the great chief Outina from taking possession of these mountains. Moreover, La Roche Ferrière brought with him a piece of rock mined in those mountains, containing a sufficiently good display of gold and brass. He therefore requested permission of M. de Laudonnière to undertake the long journey by which he hoped he could reach these three chiefs, and examine the state of things about them. Having accordingly received permission, he set out.

La Roche Ferrière having gone, the thirty who got up the demonstration or supplicatory paper above referred to threw every thing into disorder in the fort, of which they determined to take possession in order to effect a change in the conduct of affairs. As the best mode of proceeding, they chose as leaders one M. de Fournieux, a great hypocrite, and excessively avaricious; one Stephen of Genoa, an Italian; and a third named La Croix: and of the soldiers a captain named Seignore, a Gascon. They then brought over to their way of thinking all the military officers except three: namely, M. d'Ottigny, the second in command; M. d'Arlac, the ensign, a Swiss gentleman; and Capt. La Caille. The rest of the soldiers they so effectually prevailed with, that sixty-six of them, being the best veteran men, joined them. They tried also to corrupt me, through some of my intimate friends, by showing me the list of names of those who had joined, and threatening terrible things against those who should not do the same. I, however, requested them not to trouble me further, as I was against them in this matter. M. de Laudonnière knew that some conspiracy was forming, but he did not know by whom. Some things also had come to the knowledge of M. d'Ottigny, but very obscurely. On the evening of the night during which the conspirators had decided to put their plan into execution, I was informed by a Norman gentleman named De Pompierre that they had resolved that night to cut the throat of Capt. La Caille, whose lodging and mine were the same; and that, if I valued my life, I had better be out of the way. As, however, the time was too short to allow me to make the necessary arrangements, I went home, and told La Caille what I had heard. He at once fled by a rear door, and hid himself in the woods; while I thought it best to recommend myself to the protection of God, and to await the event.

At midnight Fournieux, the chief of the conspirators, armed with his cuirass, and carrying an arquebuse in his hand, and having twenty arquebusiers along with him, went to M. de Laudonnière's house, which he commanded to be opened; and, going straight to his bedside, put his weapon to his throat, and, assailing him with the vilest insults, seized the keys of the armory and storehouse, took away all his weapons, and, having put fetters on his feet, ordered him to be confined as a prisoner on the ship which lay in the river opposite the fort, under a guard of two soldiers. At the same

time La Croix the other leader, also armed, and with fifteen men, entered the lodging of M. d'Ottigny, whom, however, they did not otherwise injure than to take away his arms, and forbid him, on pain of death, from leaving the house until daylight; which order he promised to obey. The same was done by Stephen the Genoese at the lodgings of the ensign, M. d'Arlac, who was obliged to take a similar oath. At the same time Capt. Seignore, with the rest of the soldiers who had joined the conspiracy, came to Capt. La Caille's, intending to kill him because he had openly opposed their undertaking after they had informed him of it; but, though they sought everywhere, they could neither find him nor his two brothers. They, however, carried away all their arms, as they also did mine; and an order was given that I should be carried a prisoner to the soldiers' quarters. At the intercession, however, of several gentlemen of high character, who, without any clear understanding of the affair, had been induced by others to go into it, my weapons were restored to me, on condition, however, that I should not leave the house until daylight; which I promised. He then went to the quarters of those soldiers who had not joined, and took possession of their arms; and thus the control of affairs was completely secured.

M. de Laudonnière being confined in chains as above related, his Lieutenant d'Ottigny, and his Ensign d'Arlac being disarmed and confined at home, Capt. La Caille being a wanderer among the wild beasts in the woods, and the rest of the true men being disarmed, the conspirators proceeded to upset the whole constitution of affairs, abusing, however, the name and authority of M. de Laudonnière, for the easier attaining of their objects. De Fourneaux, the chief of the conspiracy, caused a diploma or license to be drawn out on parchment, in the name of M. de Laudonnière, in which, as lieutenant of the king of France, he authorized the greater part of his force, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, to proceed to New Spain to obtain supplies, and requesting all governors, captains, and others holding any office under the king of Spain, to aid them in this business. This document, which they themselves drafted, they forced M. de Laudonnière to sign. They then fitted out the two shallops that were before mentioned, taking the requisite armament and provisions from the king's stores, and selected the pilots and crews for the voyage to New Spain. They made the old man Michael Le Vasseur of Dieppe pilot of one, appointing to the other one Trenchant; and, thus prepared, they set sail from Carolina on the 8th December, calling us cowards and green hands, and threatening that if, on their return from New Spain with the wealth they proposed to acquire, we should refuse to admit them into the fort, they would tread us under foot.

But, while these are in the pursuit of wealth by piracy, let us return to La Roche Ferrière, who, having reached the mountains, succeeded by prudence and assiduity in placing himself on a friendly footing with the three chiefs before mentioned, the most bitter enemies of King Outina. He was astonished at their civilization and opulence, and sent to M. de Laudonnière at the fort many gifts which they bestowed upon him. Among these were circular plates of gold and silver as large as a moderate-sized platter, such as they are accustomed to wear to protect the back and breast in war; much gold alloyed with brass, and silver not thoroughly smelted. He sent also some quivers covered with very choice skins, with golden heads to all the arrows; and many pieces of a stuff made of feathers, and most skilfully ornamented with rushes of different colors; also green and blue stones, which some thought to be emeralds and sapphires, in the form of wedges, and which they used instead of axes, for cutting wood. M. de Laudonnière sent in return such commodities as he had, such as some thick rough cloths, a few axes and saws, and other cheap Parisian goods, with which they were perfectly satisfied.

By these dealings M. la Roche Ferrière brought himself into the worst possible odor with King Outina, and still more among his subordinate chiefs, who conceived such a hatred for him that they would not even call him by name, saying always, instead, "Timogua," that is, Enemy. As long, however, as La Roche Ferrière preserved the friendship of the three chiefs, he was able to go to and from the fort by other roads, as there are many small streams which empty into the River of May for fifteen or sixteen miles below the territory of King Outina.

I believe I shall not depart too far from my story if I mention a certain soldier who was emulous of the example of La Roche Ferrière, and therefore demanded permission from M. de Laudonnière to trade in another quarter. He was given it, but was warned to consider well what he was about, as it was not impossible that his attempt to open a trade would cost him his life; which, indeed, is what actually happened. This soldier was named Pierre Gambré, and was a young, strong, and active man, who had from early youth been brought up in the home of the Admiral de Châtillon. Having received his permission, he departed alone, without any servant, from the fort, laden with a parcel of cheap goods, and with his arquebuse, and began to trade up and down the country. He was so successful in his management, that he even came to exercise a sort of authority over the natives, whom he used to make bring his messages to us. At length, having visited a certain inferior chief called Adelano, who lived on a small island in the river, he became so friendly with him, and so great a favorite, that the chief gave him his daughter to wife. Although thus honored, he continued his pursuit of gain. In the chief's absence, he exercised authority in his stead, and did it so tyrannically, requiring the Indians to obtain for him things quite out of their power, that he made himself hated by all of them. But, as he was beloved by the chief, none ventured to complain. It happened at length, that he asked leave of the chief to make a visit to the fort, as he had not seen his friends there for twelve months. He received permission, but on condition that he should return in a few days. Having got together all his wealth, and embarked it in a canoe or skiff which was furnished him for the purpose, and with two Indians to paddle, he took leave of the chief. While on the journey, one of his companions recalled to mind that he had been, on a former occasion, beaten with sticks by this soldier; and, the booty now offering being an additional temptation, he concluded that so eligible an opportunity of securing at once revenge and plunder must not be missed. Accordingly, while the soldier was bending over a fire in complete security, the Indian seized an axe which lay next his victim, and split open his head. Then, seizing the goods, he and his companion fled.

I will now return to the liberation of M. de Laudonnière, and to the account of what took place after the departure of our men; who, by the way, had carried off with them certain half-casks of rich Spanish wine, which, as both M. de Laudonnière and his maid-servant asserted, had been put aside for the use of the sick. Capt. La Caille, who was wandering in the woods, learned from his younger brother, who had been acting as a messenger to keep him supplied with what his friends could furnish, of the departure of the men who had threatened his life, and at once came back to the fort. Here he set about encouraging the rest; exhorted all to take possession of their arms again (those who had gone not having had any use for them); and M. de Laudonnière was brought ashore from the ship, and his Lieutenant d'Ottigny and Ensign d'Arlac were safely let out of their homes. The muster-roll was called; all took oath anew, both of allegiance to the king, and of resistance to the enemy, in whose number those were now reckoned who had treated us so wickedly and contemptuously. Four captains were appointed; the whole company was divided into four companies under them, and so all returned to their regular duties.

While all this was taking place, there came to the fort a young gentleman of Poitiers, named De Groutaut, sent by M. La Roche Ferrière, one of whose companions he had always been, even during his expedition to the three kings near the Apalatcy Mountains. He brought word to M. de Laudonnière, that one of these three chiefs was taken with a great affection for the Christians; that he was powerful and wealthy, having always on foot a military force of four thousand men; and that he had requested M. La Roche Ferrière to signify to M. de Laudonnière that he offered to conclude a perpetual league with him; and that, as he understood that we were searching for gold, he would bind himself by any conditions we might require; that, if a hundred arquebusiers should be supplied him, he would certainly render them victorious masters of the Apalatcy Mountains. La Roche Ferrière, knowing nothing of the troubles at the fort, had promised that this should be arranged; nor is there any doubt that, had we not been so shamefully deserted by the greater part of our men, the experiment would have been tried, on the information of the remarkable liking which this chief had conceived for us. But M. de Laudonnière, considering that if he should send away a hundred men, he would not have force enough left to defend the post, deferred the expedition until re-enforcements should arrive from France; and at the same time he did not feel entire confidence in the Indians, particularly since the time when he was cautioned on the subject by the Spaniards. It will not be foreign to my purpose to insert here something on this point, taken from the "History of Florida," written and published by M. de Laudonnière.

"While" (says he) "the Indians were visiting me, always bringing some gift or other, as fishes, deer, turkeys, leopards, bear's whelps, and other productions of the country, I, on my part, compensated them with hatchets, knives, glass beads, combs, and mirrors. Two Indians came one day to salute me in the name of their king, Marracon, who lived about forty miles southward from the fort. They informed me that there was living in the family of King Onachaquara a person called The Bearded; and that there was another with King Mathraca, whose name they did not know, both foreigners. It occurred to me that these men might be Christians; and I therefore sent notice to all the chiefs in the vicinity, that if they had any Christians in their power, if they would bring them in to me, I would reward them double. Under this inducement, such efforts were made that both the persons referred to were brought to me at the fort. They were naked, and their hair hung down to their hams, in the Indian fashion. They were Spaniards by birth, but had become so accustomed to the manners of the natives that at first our ways seemed to them like those of foreigners. After talking with them I gave them some clothes, and directed their hair to be cut. This was done; but they kept it, putting it up in cotton cloth, saying that they would carry it back home with them as a testimony of the hardships which they had experienced in India. In the hair of one of them was found hidden a bit of gold, worth about twenty-five crowns, which he gave me. On my inquiring about the countries they had travelled through, and how they had made their way to this province, they replied that about fifteen years before, three ships, aboard one of which they were, had been cast away near Calos, on the rocks called The Martyrs; that King Calos had saved and kept for himself the greater part of the riches with which these ships were laden; that such efforts were made that the greater part of the crew were saved, as were many women, of whom three or four were noble ladies, married, and who with their children were still living with this King Calos. On being asked who this king was, they said he was the handsomest and largest Indian of all that region, and an energetic and powerful ruler. They also reported that he possessed a great store of gold and silver, and that he

kept it in a certain village in a pit not less than a man's height in depth, and as large as a cask; and that, if I could make my way to that place with a hundred arquebusiers, they could put all that wealth into my hands besides what I might obtain from the richer of the natives. They said further, that, when the women met for the purpose of dancing, they wore, hanging at their girdles, flat plates of gold as large as quoits, and in such numbers that the weight fatigued and inconvenienced them in dancing; and that the men were similarly loaded. The greater part of all this wealth, they were of opinion, came from Spanish ships, of which numbers are wrecked in that strait; the rest from the trade between the king and the other chiefs in the neighborhood. That this king was held in great veneration by his subjects, whom he had made to believe that it was owing to his magical incantations that the earth afforded them the necessaries of life. The better to maintain this belief, he was accustomed to shut himself up along with two or three confidential persons in a certain building, where he performed these incantations; and any one inquisitive enough to try to see what was going on was at once killed by the king's orders. They added, that every year at harvest time, this barbarous king sacrificed a man who had been set apart expressly for this purpose, and who was chosen from among the Spaniards wrecked in the strait. One of them also told how he had for a long time acted as a courier to this chief, and had often been sent by him to a certain chief named Oathkaqua, who lived four or five days' journey from Calos, and had always been his faithful ally. Midway on this journey there is, in a great fresh-water lake called Sarrope, an island about five miles across, abounding in many kinds of fruit, and especially in dates growing on palm-trees, in which there is a great trade. There is a still greater one in a certain root of which flour is made, of so good a quality that the most excellent bread is made of it, and furnished to all the country for fifteen miles round. Hence the inhabitants of this island gain great wealth from their neighbors, for they will not sell the root except at a high price. Moreover, they are reckoned the bravest of all that region, as they showed by their actions when, King Calos having allied himself to King Oathkaqua by taking the daughter of the latter in marriage, she was taken prisoner after the betrothal. The account of this was as follows:—

“Oathkaqua, accompanied by a great number of his people, had brought to King Calos one of his daughters, a person of great beauty of form, and of an unusually lovely complexion, to give her to him in marriage. When the people of this island found this out, they laid an ambush for Oathkaqua; and, attacking and routing him, they captured the bride and all her women, and carried them off to their island. This is reckoned by the Indians a peculiarly splendid victory; and they are accustomed to marry virgins whom they take in this manner, and to be excessively in love with them.

“Calos is on a river forty or fifty miles beyond the promontory of Florida that looks toward the south; while Oathkaqua lives this side of the promontory to the north of it, at the place called in the maps Cannaveral, twenty-eight degrees from the equator.

“About the 25th of January, my neighbor Paracousi Saturioua sent me some presents by two of his men, and wanted to engage me to unite my force with his in an attack on Outina, a friend to me; and asking particularly that I would recall some of my men who were staying with Outina, and on whose account he had refrained from attacking and overthrowing Outina. A number of other chiefs, who had leagued themselves together, repeatedly sent messages to me to the same effect, during three weeks or a month. I was, however, disinclined to comply with this request; but, on the contrary, used all the means in my power to put them on friendly terms. They consented to this, and in a way

which might justify me in supposing that they were disposed to consider any thing right which I might determine. It was now that both the Spaniards, whose long experience had familiarized them with the Indian character, cautioned me not to put any faith in them at all; for that, when their conduct was most engaging, it was most certain that they were plotting some treachery; and that they were by nature the most thorough traitors and deceivers. I had, however, already learned to distrust them; for my own experience, and the reading of recent accounts, had acquainted me with their thousand arts and frauds.

"The two shallops being now ready, I gave orders to Vasseur, in charge of one of them, to explore the seacoast towards the north, and to go as far as the river where Adusta is king; he being the chief from whose territory the French in the year 1562 procured supplies. I sent this chief two different suits of clothes, and some axes, knives, and other merchandise of small value, as a means of better obtaining his friendship. With the same object, I sent along with Vasseur a soldier named Aimon, who had been on the previous expedition to this chief, in hopes that he would remember him. And, before they embarked, I directed them to make careful inquiry what had happened to another soldier named Roussi, who had remained alone in that part of the country at the time when Nicolas Mallon, commanding a vessel, and the rest of his men concerned in the same previous expedition, embarked on their return to France. On their arrival our men learned that Roussi had been picked up and carried away by some vessel thereabouts; and I afterwards learned that this was a Spanish vessel on a coasting expedition, and that he had been carried to Havana in her. King Adusta sent back the shallop fully laden with maize and beans, besides two deer, two skins painted after their fashion, and some pearls,—of little value, however, as they had been exposed to fire; and he sent me word that he would give much land if I would settle in his territory, and that he had corn in store, and would give me as much as I wanted. At this time, there came, during seven weeks, so many pigeons, that we sometimes shot more than two hundred a day in the woods about the fort. When Vasseur returned, (I sent a second expedition with two shallops, having soldiers and sailors aboard, with a present to be given in my name to the widow of a deceased chief named Hiouacara, who lived about twelve miles north of us. She received my men kindly, and loaded both the shallops for me with maize and nuts; and she sent in addition some baskets full of cassina leaves, of which they make a drink.) The territory of this widow lady is said to produce the most and best quality of maize of any part of the seacoast. The same queen is reported to be the most beautiful of all the Indian women, and to stand in the highest esteem among them. Indeed, her subjects reverence her so much that they will not let her walk on the ground, but carry her about on their shoulders instead. Some days after she had thus sent me back my boats, she sent to me her *hiatiqui*, i.e., interpreter.

"As I now judged that I had provisions enough to last until ships should come from France, I sent my two shallops (that my men might not be idle) on an exploring expedition up the river, which they ascended thirty miles above Mathaca, where they discovered a lake whose farther shore, as the Indians reported, could not be seen even from the tops of the tallest trees anywhere on this side. My men did not therefore attempt to go farther; but, coming back by way of Chilili, they discovered in the middle of the stream an island called Edelano, the most delightful of all islands in the world. Although only about three miles long and broad, it is most abounding in men and fruits. Between the town Edelano and the riverside, the road lay along a walk of three hundred paces long and fifteen wide, on either side of which were immense trees whose branches formed such an elegant vaulting over-

head, that the work seemed not done by nature, but by art, and had perhaps not its like in the whole Christian world. At leaving this place, our men proceeded to Enecaque, then to Patchica, and then to Choya, where they left the shallops in a small branch of the river with some men as a guard, and made a visit to Outina, who received them most hospitably, and at their departure importuned them so urgently that six of them yielded to his requests, and remained with him; among them a gentleman named De Groutaut. After remaining there two months, and diligently exploring the country, together with another person whom I had a good while before stationed there for the same purpose, M. de Groutaut returned to the fort, and reported that he had never seen a finer country. Among other accounts, he brought one of a region called Oustaca, which he had seen, whose king was so powerful that he could muster an army of three or four thousand Indians; to whom it was represented, if I would ally myself, we could together easily conquer all the rest; and, further, this king, I was informed, knew the road to the Apalatcy Mountains, which the French have been so eager to reach, and where the enemy of Oustaca resides; but that by joining forces we could easily overcome him. This chief sent me a flat piece of brass dug out of the mountains, from whose roots there rises a stream rich in gold, or as the Indians think it, brass. They are accustomed to gather up the sand of this stream into hollow reeds until they are full; when, by shaking the reeds about, they find grains of gold and silver; from which they conjecture that there is a vein of the metal within the mountains. Since, however, they were at least five or six days' journey from the fort at Thracia, I resolved, that, as soon as re-enforcements should reach me from France, I would transfer our establishment to some river farther north, where we should be nearer these mountains."

To return now to our gentlemen and soldiers who set out for New Spain after provisions. They went to Cuba, where they captured some vessels, in some cases with little difficulty, and laden with supplies of all kinds, such as cassava, olive-oil, and Spanish wine; and they took possession of these ships for their own purposes, leaving their own vessels. Not contented with this booty, they made descents upon several points in the island, carrying off enough plunder, as they reckoned, to come to two thousand crowns apiece. Afterwards they took, though not until after a fight, a swift vessel with great wealth on board, and with her the governor of a certain port in that island called La Havana. This official offered a great sum of money as a ransom for himself and his two children. The amount was agreed on, but there were required in addition four or six monkeys of the sort called saguins, which are very beautiful, and as many parrots, of which choice ones are found in that island; and the governor was to remain a prisoner on board the ship until the ransom should be paid. To all this he agreed, and suggested that it would be the quickest way to send one of his children to his wife with a letter explaining the terms. Our Frenchmen read this letter when he had written it, and, not seeing any thing wrong in it, sent it to Havana, as suggested, in the boat of the ship. But, astute and cautious as they thought themselves, they had not heard a few words which the governor managed to whisper into his son's ear; to wit, that his wife was not to do at all as was set forth in the letter, but was to send post-riders to every port in the island, to summon assistance. So effectively did the lady obey these orders, that at daybreak next morning our ferocious Frenchmen found themselves beset by two large men-of-war, whose broadsides were ready to be opened upon them on either side, and another large vessel besides. Finding themselves thus trapped, as the entrance to the harbor where they lay was narrow, they were greatly cast down; but six and twenty

of them threw themselves into a small fast-sailing vessel that was in the place, as she was less likely to be hit by the balls; and, cutting her cable, fought their way out through the enemy. All the rest, however, who remained on board the ship with the governor, were taken; and, except five or six who were killed in the affair, were carried off to the mainland, and thrown into prison. Part of them were afterwards sold as slaves, and taken to other places, even as far as to Spain and Portugal.

Among those who escaped, were the three chiefs of the conspiracy, Fourneaux, Stephen the Genoese, and La Croix. Trenchant the pilot, who had been forced to accompany them, was also in this party, with five or six sailors. These finding their craft without provisions, and that there was no way of getting any, agreed with each other to take the vessel back to Florida while the rest were asleep, which they did. The military men, when they awoke, were very indignant, for they were afraid of M. de Laudonnière: however, they concluded that it was best to put in at the mouth of the River of May for provisions, as they knew many Indians from whom they could get supplies; after which they could put to sea again, and try their fortune, unknown to the garrison at the fort. Having accordingly reached the mouth of the river, they cast anchor, and began to search for provisions, when one of the Indians brought the news to M. de Laudonnière. On this, he was about to send them orders to bring the ship up opposite the fort, and appear before him; but Capt. La Caille begged him to proceed cautiously, as they might probably take to flight, instead of obeying, in which case the opportunity of making an example of them would be lost. "Well," said M. de Laudonnière, "what do you advise, then?"—"I beg you," answered La Caille, "to give me twenty-five arquebusiers, whom I will stow in one of the shallops, and cover with her sail, and get up to their vessel at daybreak. If they see only two or three of us, and a couple of hands managing the shallop, they will not object to our coming alongside; and, when we are close to them, my men shall spring up, and board them." This plan was agreed to: the soldiers went on board; and when, next morning before daylight, the watch on board the other ship got sight of the boat, they called all hands. When, however, they recognized at some distance, on board the boat, only La Caille and a couple of men, they allowed them to come alongside without preparing to defend themselves. As soon as the boat was made fast to the vessel, however, our men sprang suddenly up, and boarded her. Surprised, they called out to fire on them, and ran to arms. But it was too late: they were quickly deprived of their weapons, and told that they were to be brought before the king's lieutenant; which put them into consternation enough, as they felt that their lives were in the greatest danger. They were taken to the fort, and the three principal conspirators were regularly tried, condemned, and punished, while the rest being, however, discharged from the service, were pardoned; and there were no further seditions.

After this affair was settled, there was a great scarcity with us, because for various reasons the Indians, both those near by and those farther off, all broke off their intercourse with us. One of these reasons was, that they obtained nothing from us in exchange for their provisions; another, that they suffered much violence from our men in their expeditions after supplies. Some were even senseless, not to say malignant, enough to burn their houses, with the notion that by so doing we should be more promptly supplied. But the difficulty daily increased, until we had to go three or four miles before we could meet a single Indian. Then there took place, moreover, a campaign against the powerful chief Outina, which I need not narrate, as an account of it is given in M. de Laudonnière's work. In short, a detailed description of the condition of want to which we were reduced would be pitiful; but the plan of my work requires me to be very summary in my accounts.

After, however, some of us had actually perished of hunger, and all the rest were starved until our skin cleaved to our bones, M. de Laudonnière at last gave up hopes of receiving re-enforcements from France, for which he had now been waiting eighteen months, and called a general council to deliberate on the means of returning to France. It was herein finally concluded to refit as well as possible the third of our ships, and to raise her sides with plank so as to enlarge her capacity; and, while the artificers were employed on this work, the soldiers were set to collect provisions along the coast.

While we were busily employed in this matter, however, a certain English commander named Hawkins, who was returning home from a long voyage, came up to our fort in his boat; and, on observing our miserable condition, offered us any assistance in his power, and proceeded at once to make his offers good; for he sold to M. de Laudonnière one of his ships at a very moderate price, together with some casks of flour which we baked into biscuits. He also gave us several casks of beans and pease, and accepted as part payment in advance some of our brass cannon, and then proceeded on his voyage.

We were rejoiced enough at thus getting possession of another vessel besides our own, which was being repaired, and of sufficient provisions for our return; and on consultation it was decided that before our departure the fort should be destroyed: in the first place, to prevent its being made serviceable against the French, in case of their ever returning into those parts, by the Spaniards, who as we knew were desirous of establishing themselves there; and, secondly, to prevent Saturioua from occupying it. So we destroyed the works.

After, however, we were quite ready for the voyage, and when we had been for three weeks only waiting for a fair wind to depart from the province, there unexpectedly arrived a fleet of seven ships, commanded by the famous Jean de Ribaud, well known for his great merits, and who was sent out to succeed M. de Laudonnière, and for the carrying-on of the king's designs. This arrival, so wholly unexpected, filled us all with joy. M. de Ribaud landed with a number of his officers and many gentlemen and others. They all thanked God, while they were administering to our necessities, that they found us alive, for they had been informed that we had all perished; and so, after the long affliction which we had endured, God sent us happiness. All the new-comers individually were liberal in imparting food and whatever else they had brought, and tried in every way to be serviceable each to such friends or kinsmen or fellow-countrymen as he met with among us: so all the place was filled with happiness. But this joy was brief, as we quickly found.

M. de Ribaud desiring to land his treasure, provisions, and military supplies, had the mouth of the river sounded; but, finding too little water for his larger vessels, he ordered the three smaller ones only into the river. One of these, "The Pearl," was commanded by his son Jacques de Ribaud, to whom Capt. Vallard of Dieppe acted as lieutenant; Capt. Maillard, also of Dieppe, commanded the second; and the captain of the third was a gentleman named Machonville. The four larger ships remained at anchor a mile from the shore, as the water was shallow there, and were unloaded by canoes and boats.

Seven or eight days after Ribaud's arrival, while all the gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors, except a few men left in charge of the four larger ships, were on shore, and occupied about putting up houses, and rebuilding the fort, about four o'clock in the afternoon some soldiers who were walking on the seashore saw six ships steering towards our four which were at anchor. They instantly

sent information to Ribaud; and upon his coming up, rather late, they told him that these six large ships had cast anchor near ours, which had at once cut their cables, and gone to sea under all sail; that the six had thereupon weighed anchor, and sailed in pursuit. Ribaud, indeed, and many others with him, were in season to see this chase with their own eyes. Our ships, however, being faster than the others, were quickly out of sight, and within a quarter of an hour the pursuers had also disappeared. This made us uneasy enough all the following night, during which Ribaud ordered all the small craft to be made ready, and stationed five or six hundred arquebusiers on the shore, in readiness to embark if needed. Thus the night passed away, and the next day until about noon, when the largest of our four ships, "The Trinity," came in sight, steering directly for us. Soon we saw the second, under Capt. Cossette, then the third, and a little afterwards the fourth; and they signalled us to come on board. But Ribaud fearing that the enemy might have taken the ships, and were trying to trap us, would not risk his men, eager though they were to go aboard. As the wind was adverse, and the ships could not come in close, Capt. Cossette wrote a letter to Ribaud, which one of his sailors took, and, jumping into the sea at the imminent risk of his life, swam for shore. After swimming a long distance, he was seen from the land, and a boat put out, picked him up, and brought him to Ribaud. The letter was as follows:—

"M. DE RIBAUD,—Yesterday at four, P.M., a Spanish fleet of eight ships hove in sight, six of which cast anchor near us. Seeing that they were Spaniards, we cut cables, and made sail; and they immediately made sail in chase, and pursued us all night, firing many guns at us. Finding, however, that they could not come up with us, they have made a landing five or six miles below, putting on shore a great number of negroes with spades and mattocks. On this state of facts, please to act as you shall see fit."

On reading this letter, Ribaud at once called a council of his chief subordinates, including nearly thirty military officers, besides gentlemen, commissaries, and other civilians. The more prudent part of this assembly would have preferred to complete the erection and arming of the fort as soon as possible, while Laudonnière's men, who knew the country, should be sent against the Spaniards; a plan which, God willing, would, they thought, quickly settle matters, since the locality was not within the Spanish jurisdiction, whose limits, indeed, were three or four hundred miles distant. Ribaud, however, after perceiving this plan to be generally acceptable, said, "Gentlemen, I have heard your views, and desire now to state my own. First, however, you should be informed that, a little before our leaving France, I received a letter from the admiral, at the end of which he had written with his own hand as follows: 'M. de Ribaud, we have advices that the Spaniard means to attack you. Do not yield a particle to him, and you will do right.' I must therefore declare plainly to you that it may result from your plan that the Spaniards will not await an assault from our brave men, but will at once escape aboard ship, by which we should lose our opportunity of destroying those who are seeking to destroy us. The better plan seems to me to be, to put all our soldiers on board our four ships now at anchor, and to seize at once upon their ships, while anchored where they have landed. When those are taken they will have no refuge except the works which their slaves have been throwing up; and we can then attack them by land to much better advantage."

M. de Laudonnière, who was by this time familiar with the climate of the country, now suggested that the weather should be carefully taken into account before putting the men on board ship again; as at that time of year a species of whirlwinds or typhoons, which sailors call "houragans," from

time to time come on suddenly, and inflict terrible damage on the coast. For this reason he favored the former of the proposed plans ; the rest, for the same and other reasons, have already been described as of the like mind. Ribaud alone, however, contemning all their reasons, persisted in his own determination, which was no doubt the will of God, who chose this means of punishing his own children, and destroying the wicked. Not satisfied with his own force, M. de Ribaud asked for Laudonnière's captains and his ensign, whom the latter could not well refuse to send with him ; and all Laudonnière's men, when they saw their standard-bearer going, insisted on going with him. I myself, seeing them all going, went on board with the rest, though lame in one leg, and not yet recovered from a wound I had received in the campaign against Outina.

All the troops being now on board, a fair wind for an hour or two was all that was needed to bring us up with the enemy ; but just as the anchors were about to be weighed the wind changed, and blew directly against us, exactly from the point where the enemy were, for two whole days and nights, while we waited for it to become fair. On the third day, as signs of a change appeared, Ribaud ordered all the officers to inspect their men ; and M. d'Ottigny finding in his examination of Laudonnière's force, that I was not yet quite cured, had me put into a boat along with another soldier, a tailor by trade, who was at work on some clothes for him against the proposed return to France, and sent us, against our wills, back to the fort. But just as they had weighed anchor, and set sail, there came up all at once so terrible a tempest that the ships had to put out to sea as quickly as possible for their own safety ; and, the storm continuing, they were driven to the north-* ward some fifty miles from the fort, where they were all wrecked on some rocks, and destroyed. All the ships' companies were, however, saved except Capt. La Grange, a gentleman of the house of the Admiral de Châtillon, a man of much experience and many excellencies, who was drowned. The Spanish ships were also wrecked and destroyed in the same gale.

As the storm continued, the Spaniards, who were informed of the embarkation of the French forces, suspected, what was not so very far from the truth, that the troops had been cast away and destroyed in it, and fancied that they could easily take our fort. Although the rains continued as constant and heavy as if the world was to be again overwhelmed with a flood, they set out, and marched all night towards us. On our part, those few who were able to bear arms were that same night on guard ; for, out of about a hundred and fifty persons remaining in the fort, there were scarcely twenty in a serviceable condition, since Ribaud, as before mentioned, had carried off with him all the able soldiers except fourteen or fifteen who were sick or mutilated, or wounded in the campaign against Outina. All the rest were either servants or mechanics who had never even heard a gun fired, or king's commissaries better able to handle a pen than a sword ; and, besides, there were some women, whose husbands, most of them, had gone on board the ships. M. de Laudonnière himself was sick in bed.

When the day broke, nobody being seen about the fort, M. de la Vigne, who was the officer of the guard, pitying the drenched and exhausted condition of the men, who were worn out with long watching, permitted them to take a little rest ; but they had scarcely had time to go to their quarters, and lay aside their arms, when the Spaniards, guided by a Frenchman named François Jean, who had seduced some of his messmates along with him, attacked the fort at the double quick in three places at once, penetrated the works without resistance, and, getting possession of the place of arms, drew up their

* South ?

force there. Then parties searched the soldiers' quarters, killing all whom they found, so that awful outcries and groans arose from those who were being slaughtered. For my own part, whenever I call to mind the great wonder that God, to whom truly nothing is impossible, brought to pass in my case, I cannot be enough astonished at it, and am, as it were, stunned with the recollection. On coming in from my watch, I laid down my arquebuse; and, all wet through as I was, I threw myself into a hammock which I had slung up after the Brazilian fashion, hoping to get a little sleep. But on hearing the outcries, the noise of weapons, and the sound of blows, I jumped up again, and was going out of the house to see what was the matter, when I met in the very doorway two Spaniards with their swords drawn, who passed on into the house without accosting me, although I brushed against them. When, however, I saw that nothing was visible except slaughter, and that the place of arms itself was held by the Spaniards, I turned back at once, and made for one of the embrasures, where I knew I could get out. At the very place I found five or six of my fellow-soldiers lying dead, among whom were two that I recognized, La Gaule and Jean du Den. I leaped down into the ditch, crossed it, and went on alone for some distance over rising ground into a piece of woods, until, having reached a higher part of the hill, it was as if God gave me back my consciousness; for it is certain that the things that had happened since my leaving the house were as though I had been out of my wits. I now prayed God for his guidance in my actions, in this so extreme danger; and, at a suggestion from his Spirit, went forward into the woods, whose paths, by frequent use of them, I well knew. I had gone but a little way when, to my great joy, I came upon four other Frenchmen; and, after condoling with each other, we consulted on what to do next. Part of us advised to stay where we were until next day, when perhaps the fury of the Spaniards would be appeased; and then to return, and surrender ourselves to them, rather than risk being devoured by wild beasts where we were, or perishing by hunger of which we had already endured so much. Some of the rest, not liking these suggestions, thought it a better plan to make our way to some distant Indian settlement, where we might live until God should open some way for us. But I said, "Brothers, I like neither of these suggestions. If you will be guided by me, we will make for the seashore through the woods, and try if we cannot discover something of the two small vessels which Ribaud sent into the river to be used in disembarking the provisions he brought from France." But, this appearing to them perfectly impracticable, they set off to find the Indians, leaving me alone. But God, taking pity on my distress, sent me another companion, being Grandchemin, that very soldier whom M. d'Ottigny sent back with me to the fort to work on some clothes for him. I suggested to him the same as to the others, that is, to endeavor to find the two small craft at the seashore. He thought well of this, and we were all that day on the road before we got through the woods. Before we could reach the shore, however, we had extensive swamps to pass, all thickly grown with large reeds, very hard to get through. With all this toil we were pretty well exhausted when night fell, and a steady rain began also to come down upon us. The tide likewise rose in the swamp until the water there among the reeds was over our waists; and we spent the whole night in working our way onward under these difficulties. When the daylight came, and we could see nothing in the direction of the sea, the soldier, losing his patience, said it would be better to surrender ourselves to the enemy, and that we might as well return to them; that, when they found that we were artificers, they would spare our lives; and, even if they should not, was it not better to let them kill us than to remain any longer in such a miserable condition? I sought to dissuade him, but in vain; and, as I saw that he was about to leave me, I finally

promised to go back with him to the Spaniards. We therefore made our way back through the woods, and were even in sight of the fort, when I heard the uproar and rejoicing which the Spaniards were making, and was deeply moved by it, and said to the soldier, "Friend and companion, I pray you, let us not go thither: let us stay away yet a little while; God will open some way of safety to us, for he has many of which we know nothing, and will save us out of all these dangers." But he embraced me, saying, "I will go: so farewell." In order to see what should happen to him, I got up to a height near by, and watched. As he came down from the high ground, the Spaniards saw him, and sent out a party. As they came up to him, he fell on his knees to beg for his life. They, however, in a fury cut him to pieces, and carried off the dismembered fragments of his body on the points of their spears and pikes. I hid myself again in the woods, where, having gone about a mile, I came upon a Frenchman of Rouen, La Crete by name, a Belgian called Elie des Planques, and M. de Laudonnière's maid-servant, who had been wounded in the breast. We made our way towards the open meadows along the seashore; but, before getting through the woods, we found M. de Laudonnière himself, and another man named Bartholomew, who had received a deep sword-cut in the neck; and after a time we picked up others, until there were fourteen or fifteen of us in all. As, however, a carpenter called Le Chaleux, who was one of us, has given a brief account of this part of our calamities, I will say nothing more except that we travelled in water more than waist-deep for two days and two nights through swamps and reeds; M. de Laudonnière, who was a skilful swimmer, and the young man from Rouen, swimming three large rivers on the way, before we could get sight of the two vessels. On the third day, by the blessing of God, and with the help of the sailors, we got safe on board.

I have already mentioned, that, as Ribaud found that there was not water enough at the mouth of the river to admit his four largest vessels, he had sent in his three smaller ones, which he purposed to use in discharging the others; his son Jacques de Ribaud being in command of the largest of the three. He had taken his vessel up to the fort, and lay there at anchor while the Spaniards were perpetrating their butchery; nor, although he had cannon, did he once fire upon them. All that day the wind was contrary, and prevented him from getting the ship out of the river. The Spaniards in the mean time offered him good terms and amnesty if he would surrender, to which he made no reply. When they saw that he was trying persistently to get his ship out to sea, they took a small boat which was used at the fort, and sent her on board of him with a trumpeter, and that same traitor, François Jean, who had guided the Spaniards into the fort, to request a parley to arrange terms of agreement. And, although this traitor was reckless enough to even venture himself aboard of the ship of Jacques de Ribaud, the latter was so imbecile and timid as not to venture to detain him, but let him go safe back again, although he had on board, besides his crew, more than sixty soldiers. But, on the other hand, neither did the Spaniards, although they had abundance of small boats, dare to make any attacks upon him.

On the next day, however, Jacques got his ship to the mouth of the river, where he found the other two smaller vessels nearly emptied of men; for the greater and better part of them had gone with Jean de Ribaud. Laudonnière therefore decided to fit out and man one of the two with the armament and crews of both; and then advised with Jacques what they should do, and whether they ought not to search for his father; to which the latter made answer that he wanted to go back to France, which was in the end resolved upon. First, however, as there was no provision except biscuit

in the smaller vessel, and she was without water, Laudonnière had some empty casks filled with water, and Jacques did the like. In this, and in obtaining some other necessary supplies, two days were consumed, during all which time the ships were kept close side by side, for fear the Spaniards might attack us, as their boats reconnoitred us from time to time, not, however, venturing within gunshot distance. Certainly, as we knew what actions they had perpetrated upon our friends, we were prepared to make a desperate defence.

Before sailing, Laudonnière asked Jacques de Ribaud to accommodate him with one of his four pilots, as he had no skilful navigator on board, but was refused. He then further observed that it would be well to sink our vessels left at the mouth of the river, lest the Spaniards should get possession of them, and use them to prevent Jean de Ribaud from entering the river, should he return and wish to do so (for we were ignorant of his shipwreck); but Jacques would consent to nothing. Laudonnière, finding him so obstinate, sent his own ship-carpenter, who scuttled and sunk the ships in question; namely, one which we had brought from France, one which we had bought of the English commander Hawkins, and one the smallest of M. de Ribaud's fleet; and, this done, we set sail from Florida, ill manned and ill provisioned. But God, however, gave us so fortunate a voyage, although attended with a good deal of suffering, that we made the land in that arm of the sea bordering on England which is called St. George's Channel.

This is what I have thought it proper to relate of the things which I witnessed on this voyage; from which it appears that victory is not of man, but of God, who does all things righteously according to his own will. For, according to all human judgment, fifty of the worst of Ribaud's soldiers could have destroyed all the Spanish force, of whom many were beggars and the dregs of the people; while Ribaud had more than eight hundred brave veteran arquebusiers, with gilded armor. But, when such things are God's pleasure, it is for us to say, Blessed be the name of God everlasting!

As for the fate of Ribaud after his shipwreck, as I was not present with him, I can only relate what I heard from a sailor of Dieppe, who escaped from the Spaniards, as will be mentioned: I will therefore add a short statement of the facts. Having called the roll, and, as I have already mentioned, having found all present except Capt. La Grange, although all their weapons had been lost in the wreck, Ribaud made a noble speech to his men, setting forth that it was their duty to bear with calmness the calamity which they had suffered by the will of God; for he was a man of piety, and a fine speaker. Prayers having then been offered, it was decided to set out for the fort, from which they were about fifty miles away. In this march they must unquestionably have undergone great hardships, and made great exertions; for the region through which they had to travel was much intersected by rivers, and was neither inhabited by the Indians, nor cultivated at all; so that they had to live on roots and herbs, and were sufficiently anxious in their minds. Having, however, courageously made their way through all obstacles, they finally reached a point some four or five miles, as well as the soldiers from Laudonnière's force could judge, from the fort. Ribaud now determined not to advance any nearer, but called a council to deliberate on what should be done. The conclusion was, to send Vasseur, a skilful seaman, and who knew all the branches of the River of May, with five or six men, in an Indian canoe, to reconnoitre, and ascertain something about the Frenchmen who had been left in the fort. Upon going down the river to the neighborhood of the fort, he saw the Spanish flag flying over it; and, returning without being observed by the garrison, he made report

to Ribaud. Upon hearing the story, it may easily be imagined how great was the grief of Ribaud and all his company, and how utterly he was at a loss what to say or do. For his own part, he foresaw the cruelty of the Spaniards; and yet he perceived that most of his force would perish by starvation and exposure in the woods; but, before resolving on any definite step, it was decided to send some messenger to the fort, to learn something of the intentions of the Spaniards, and what disposal had been made of the Frenchmen left in the fort. For this purpose were sent Nicolas Verdier, captain of one of the ships, and La Caille, that officer of Laudonnière's of whom mention has already been made. They went in a canoe with five or six soldiers, and, according to orders, showed themselves at a good distance off. The Spaniards, on seeing them, came in a boat to the other bank of the river, and held a parley with our men. The French asked what had become of the men left in the fort. The Spaniards replied that their commander, who was a humane and clement person, had sent them all to France in a large ship abundantly supplied, and that they might say to Ribaud that he and his men should be used equally well. The French returned with this message. Ribaud, on hearing it, believed too hastily this story about his men having been sent back to France, and summoned another council. Here most of the soldiers began at once to cry out, "Let us go, let us go! What is to hinder our going over to them at once? Even if they should put us to death, is it not better to die outright than to endure so many miseries? There is not one of us who has not experienced a hundred deaths while we have been making this journey!" Others, more prudent, said they could never put faith in Spaniards; for, they urged, if there were no other reason than the hatred which they bear to us on account of our religion, they assuredly will not spare us.

Ribaud, however, perceiving that most were of his mind, that it was best to surrender to the Spaniards, decided to send La Caille in to the Spanish commander, with orders, if the latter should seem inclined to clemency, to ask, in the name of the lieutenant of the king of France, for a safe-conduct, and to announce, that, if the Spanish leader would make oath to spare all their lives, they would come in, and throw themselves at his feet. The greater part of the company assented to this, and La Caille was accordingly sent; who, coming to the fort, was taken before the commander, and, throwing himself at his feet, delivered his message. Having heard La Caille through, he not only pledged his faith to La Caille in the terms suggested, and confirmed the pledge with many signs of the cross, and by kissing the Evangelists, but made oath in the presence of all his men, and drew up a writing sealed with his seal, repeating the oath, and promising that he would without fraud, faithfully, and like a gentleman and a man of honesty, preserve the lives of Ribaud and his men. All this was handsomely written out, and given to La Caille; but this fine paper promise was worth just as much as the blank paper. La Caille, however, took back this elegant document with him; which was joyfully received by some, while others did not entertain any great expectations from it.

Ribaud, however, having made an excellent speech to his people, and all having joined in offering prayer to God, gave orders to proceed, and with all his company came down to the bank of the river near the fort. Upon being seen by the Spanish sentinels, they were taken over in boats. Ribaud himself, and D'Ottigny, Laudonnière's lieutenant, were first led into the fort by themselves; the rest were halted about a bowshot from the fort, and were all tied up in fours, back to back; from which, and other indications, they quickly perceived that their lives were lost. Ribaud asked to see the governor, to remind him of his promise; but he spoke to deaf ears. D'Ottigny, hearing the despairing cries of his men, appealed to the oath which had been taken, but they laughed at him. As

Ribaud insisted on his application, a Spanish soldier finally came in, and asked in French if he were the commander, "Ribaut." The answer was, "Yes." The man asked again, if Ribaud did not expect, when he gave an order to his soldiers, that they would obey; to which he said again, "Yes."—"I propose to obey the orders of my commander also," replied the Spaniard; "I am ordered to kill you;" and with that he thrust a dagger into his breast; and he killed D'Ottigny in the same way. When this was done, men were detailed to kill all the rest who had been tied up, by knocking them in the head with clubs and axes; which they proceeded to do without delay, calling them meanwhile Lutherans, and enemies to God and to the Virgin Mary. In this manner they were all most cruelly murdered in violation of an oath, except a drummer from Dieppe named Dronet, a fifer, and another man from Dieppe, a fiddler named Masselin, who were kept alive to play for dancing; and one sailor escaped in the following manner, being the same who related to me this narrative:—

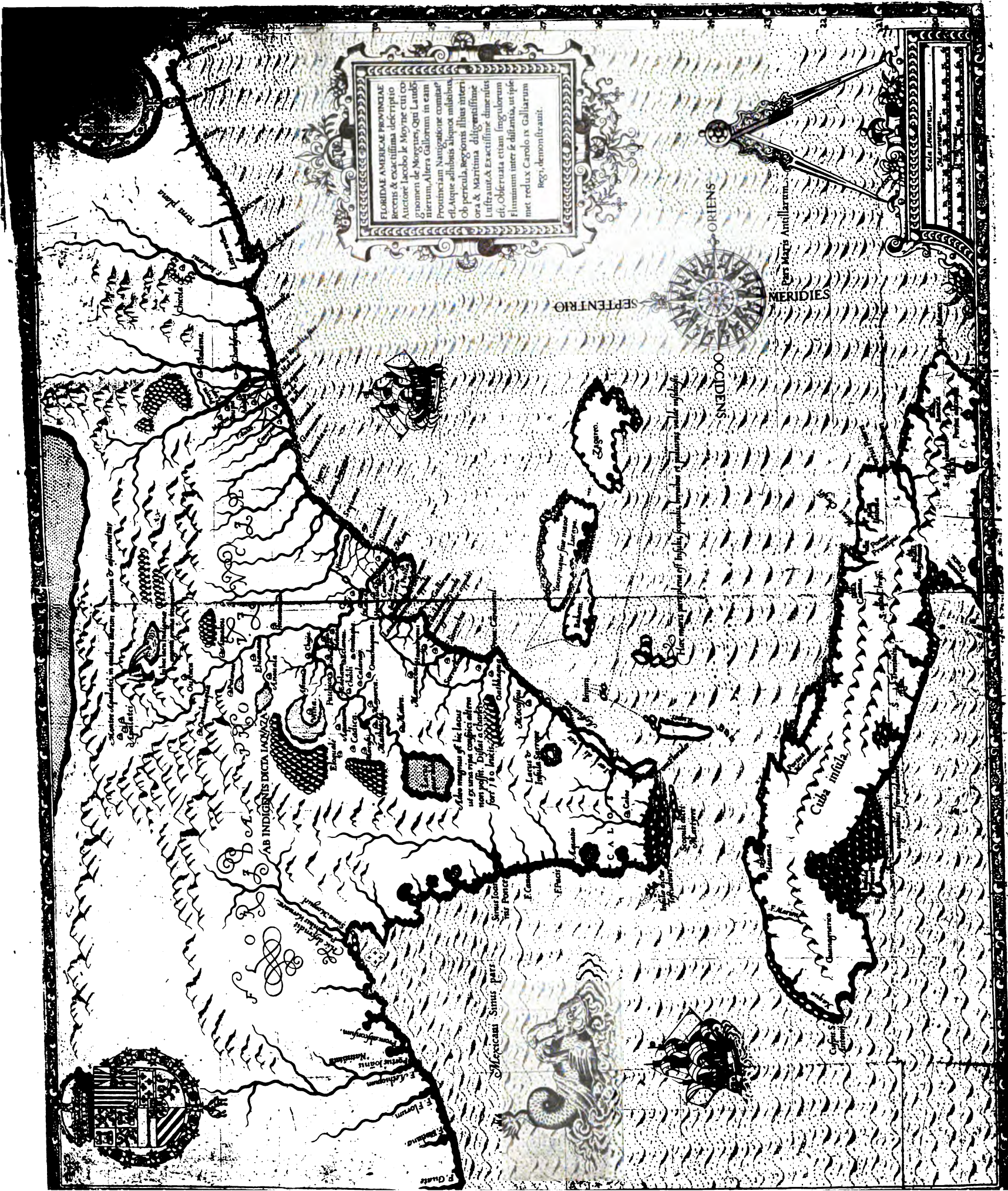
He was among those who were pinioned for slaughter, and was knocked in the head with the rest, but, instead of being killed, was only stunned; and, the three others with whom he was tied falling above him, he was left for dead along with them. The Spaniards got together a great pile of wood to burn the corpses; but, as it grew late, they put it off until the next day. The sailor, coming to his senses among the dead bodies in the night, bethought himself of a knife which he wore in a wooden sheath, and contrived to work himself about until little by little he got the knife out, and cut the ropes that bound him. He then rose up, and silently departed, journeying all the rest of the night. When the day broke, he laid his course by the sun to get as far away from the fort as possible (for those of maritime occupations acquire the ability to judge which way they are going from observing where the sun is); and, after travelling for three days without stopping, he came to a certain Indian chief, who lived forty miles from the fort, with whom he remained hidden eight months, before he was betrayed to the Spaniards.

About eight months after their capture of the fort, the Spaniards learned that some of the French had escaped, and were dispersed about the province. The Spanish commander, fearing that they would engage with the natives in some enterprise against him, sent threatening messages to the chiefs around, demanding the surrender of the French who were in hiding with them. The protector of this sailor, therefore, informed him that he must deliver himself to the Spaniards, as otherwise he feared he should be attacked, and his possessions burned. The sailor would have taken refuge with other chiefs; but they all answered him to the same effect. Not knowing what to do, he set out for the fort; but, having come within two miles of it, he could not resolve to go any farther, but stopped, and exhausted with sorrow, anxiety, and despair, gave himself over to die, and remained for three or four days in that miserable state. At the end of that time three Spaniards came out hunting, one of whom discovered him, and, at the sight of what was more like a dead corpse than a live man, felt (what is hardly to be found in one out of a thousand Spaniards) a sensation of pity upon beholding the sailor at his feet, and begging for mercy. Being asked by the Spaniard how he came to be there, he told him his story; upon which the Spaniard, who was affected by it, agreed that he would not take him at once to the fort, for fear of his being killed on the spot, but would see the governor first, and try if some indulgence could not be had from him; and that, after ascertaining about this, he would come back. Leaving him, therefore, the soldier went to the governor, and managed to get him to promise that the sailor need not be killed, but should only be made a slave. Next day he accordingly returned to the miserable Frenchman, and carried him to the fort, where

he served as a slave for a year, and was then sent into Cuba, to Havana, where he was chained to another Frenchman, a gentleman called M. de Pompierre, who had been captured along with others of Laudonnière's men, after being carried off against his will on that expedition which I have already referred to in the course of this short account of the whole expedition. At last De Pompierre and the sailor were sold together, and put on board ship for Portugal; but the vessel happened to fall in with a French ship commanded by one Bontemps, and after a long fight was taken by her, when the victors, finding our two prisoners on board in chains, set them at liberty, and carried them to France. Thus God, according to his pleasure, finds ways to relieve the unfortunate even when they have lost all hope.

This is the story which I heard from the sailor of the destruction of Ribaud and his company; but it becomes us to accuse ourselves and our own sins for blame in the matter, and not the Spaniards, whom the Lord made use of as rods for scourging us according to our deserts. But to God omnipotent alone, and to his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and to the Holy Spirit, be honor and glory forever! Amen.

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DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

DRAWN BY LE MOYNE IN FLORIDA, 1564.

[Translated from the Latin of De Bry, and printed for William Appleton. Boston: 1874.]

Pictures of the Indians inhabiting the Province of Florida, first drawn on the spot, from life, by Jacques Le Moyne, surnamed Le Morgues; with a short description under each. Just now engraved on copper, and published by Theodore de Bry of Liège. With grace and privilege from his Imperial Majesty for four years. In the year of Christ 1609.

1. *The Promontory of Florida, at which the French touched; named by them the French Promontory.*

The French, on their first voyage to Florida, touched at a headland, not very high, as the coast in that vicinity is level, but heavily wooded with very lofty trees. This their commander named French Cape [Promontorium Gallicum] in honor of France. It is about thirty degrees from the equator. Coasting thence to the northward, they discovered a broad and beautiful river, at whose mouth they cast anchor in order to examine it more in detail next day. Laudonnière, in his second voyage, called this stream the River of Dolphins, because, when he touched there, a great many dolphins were seen in it. On landing on the shore of this river, our men saw many Indians, who came on purpose to give them a most kind and friendly reception, as their actions proved; for some of them gave their own skin-garments to the commander, and promised to point out to him their chief, who did not rise up, but remained sitting on boughs of laurel and palm which had been spread for him. He gave our commander a large skin, decorated all over with pictures of various kinds of wild animals drawn after the life.

2. *The French sail to the River of May.*

Re-embarking, they sailed to another place; and, before landing again, were received with salutations by another crowd of Indians, some of whom waded into the water up to their shoulders, offering the visitors little baskets full of maize and of white and red mulberries, while others offered to help

Descriptions of Illustrations.

them in going on shore. Having landed, they saw the chief, who was accompanied by two sons, and a company of Indians armed with bows and quivers full of arrows. After an exchange of salutations, our men went on into the woods, in hopes to discover many wonderful things. They found nothing, however, except trees bearing white and red mulberries, on the boughs of which were numerous silkworms. They named this river the River of May, because they sighted it on the first day of that month.

3. Leaving the River of May, the French discover two other rivers.

A little afterwards they went on board again, hoisted anchors, and sailed farther on along the coast, until they entered a beautiful river, which the commander himself chose to explore in company with the chief of that vicinity and some of the natives, and which he named the Seine because it was very like the River Seine in France. It is about fourteen leagues from the River of May. Returning to the ships, they sailed still farther north; but, before going far, they discovered another fine river, and sent two boats to explore it. In it they discovered an island, whose chief was no less friendly than the others. This river they named the Aine. It is six miles from the Seine.

4. Six other rivers discovered by the French.

Sailing hence, about six miles farther on they discovered another river, which was called the Loire; and subsequently five others, named the Charente, Garonne, Gironde, Beautiful [Bellus], and Great, respectively. Having carefully explored all these, and having discovered along these nine rivers, within the space of less than sixty miles, many singular things, but still not being contented, they proceeded still farther north, until they arrived at the River Jordan, which is almost the most beautiful river of the whole of this northern region.

5. The French reach Port Royal.

Resuming their voyage as before, they discovered a river which they called Bellevue [Conspectu bellum, "beautiful to see"?]; and, after sailing three or four miles farther, they were informed that not far off was another river, surpassing all the rest in size and beauty. When they had reached this, they found it so magnificent and great a stream that they named it Port Royal. Here they took in sail, and came to anchor in ten fathoms. The commander, on landing with some soldiers, found the country very beautiful, as it was well wooded with oak, cedar, and other trees. As they went on through the woods, they saw Indian peacocks, or turkeys, flying past, and deer going by. The mouth of this river is three French leagues, or miles, wide, and is divided into two arms, one turning to the west, the other to the north. This latter is thought by some to connect with the Jordan; the other returns to the sea, as residents there have ascertained. These two branches are two full miles wide, and midway between them is an island whose point looks toward the mouth of the river. Shortly after, embarking again, they entered the arm making to the northward, in order to examine its advantages; and, after proceeding about twelve miles, they saw a company of Indians, who, on perceiving the boats, immediately took to flight, leaving a lynx's whelp which they were roasting; from which circumstance the place was called Lynx Point. On going still farther, they came to another branch of the river, coming in from the east, up which the commander determined to go, leaving the main channel.

6. *The French commander erects a column with the arms of the king of France.*

The commander having, however, returned to his ships, and having remained on board one night, ordered into one of the boats a landmark carved in the form of a column, and having cut upon it the arms of the king of France, which was directed to be set up in some particularly pleasant spot. Such they found at a point about three miles to the west, where they discovered a small creek, which they entered, and, after following it for a time, found that it came out into the main stream again, thus forming a small island. The commander directed the column to be erected on a small open mound in this place. After this they saw two deer of great size in comparison with any they had seen before, and which they could easily have killed with their arquebuses, had not the commander, admiring their large size, forbidden it. Before returning to the boat, they named this small island Libourne. Embarking again, they explored another island not far from the former; but finding upon it nothing except some very lofty cedars, larger than any they had yet seen in the country, they called it Cedar Island, and then returned to the ships. The small island on which the column was erected is marked F in the plate.

7. *The French left in Fort Charles suffer from scarcity of provisions.*

Not long after the departure of Ribaud from Florida, the men whom he left in Fort Charles (the work erected by him on an island on a stream entering the greater channel of Port Royal from the north) began to find their provisions fail them. After consulting upon the best way of meeting the difficulty, they concluded that the wisest plan was to apply to the chief Ouadé and to his brother Couëxis. Those who were sent on this business went in Indian canoes by the inland waters, and at a distance of some ten miles discovered a large and beautiful river of fresh water, in which they saw numerous crocodiles, much larger than those of the Nile. The banks of this stream were wooded with lofty cypresses. After a short delay here, they went on to the chief Ouadé; and, being received by him in the most friendly manner, they laid before him the object of their journey, and prayed him not to desert them in such a strait. Upon hearing this, the chief sent messengers to his brother Couëxis after maize and beans. The latter responded promptly; for next morning very early the messengers came back with the provisions, which the chief ordered on board the canoe. The French, very happy at this liberality of the chief's, would have taken leave of him; but this he would not permit, keeping them with him, and entertaining them hospitably for that day. Next morning he showed them his fields of millet, or maize, and intimated that they should not want for food as long as that millet existed. Being now dismissed by the king, they returned by the way they had come.

8. *The natives of Florida worship the column erected by the commander on his first voyage.*

When the French landed in Florida on their second voyage under Laudonnière, that leader went on shore with five and twenty arquebusiers, after obtaining a safe-conduct from the Indians, who had gathered in crowds to see them. The chief Athore, who lived four or five miles from the sea-shore, also came; and after an exchange of presents had been made, accompanied by demonstrations of all manner of kind feeling, the chief gave them to understand that he wished to show them something remarkable, and that he desired they would go with him for that purpose. To this consent was given; although, as the chief had with him a great number of his people, caution and circumspection were used. He then conducted them directly to the island where Ribaud had set up on a

found a stone column ornamented with the arms of the king of France. On approaching, they found that these Indians were worshipping this stone as an idol; and the chief himself, having saluted it with signs of reverence such as his subjects were in the habit of showing to himself, kissed it. His men followed his example, and we were invited to do the same. Before the monument there lay various offerings of the fruits, and edible or medicinal roots, growing thereabouts; vessels of perfumed oils; a bow, and arrows; and it was wreathed around from top to bottom with flowers of all sorts, and boughs of the trees esteemed choicest. After witnessing these ceremonies of these poor savages, our men returned to their companions, and set about choosing a place for erecting a fort. This chief, Athore, is very handsome, prudent, honorable, strong, and of very great stature, being more than half a foot taller than the tallest of our men; and his bearing was marked by a modest gravity, which had a strikingly majestic effect. He had married his mother, and had by her a number of sons and daughters, whom he showed to us, striking his thigh as he did so. After this marriage, his father Saturioua lived with her no longer.

9. *The French select a place for building a fort.*

After exploring many of the rivers in that country, it was finally decided that the River of May was the best one for an establishment, because millet and breadstuffs were most abundant there, besides the gold and silver that had been discovered there on the first voyage. They therefore sailed for that river; and, after ascending it to the neighborhood of a certain mountain, they selected a place more fit for the site of their fort than any previously observed. Next day, as soon as it was light, after offering prayers to God, and giving thanks for their prosperous coming into the province, they all went briskly to work; and, after a triangular outline had been measured out, they all began,—some to dig in the earth, some to make fascines of brushwood, some to put up the wall. Every man was briskly engaged with spade, saw, axe, or some other tool; and so diligent were they that the work went rapidly forward.

10. *Picture of Fort Carolina.*

Thus was erected a triangular work, afterwards named Carolina. The base of the triangle, looking westward, was defended only by a small ditch, and a wall of sods nine feet high. The side next the river was built up with planks and fascines. On the southern side was a building after the fashion of a citadel, which was for a granary to hold their provisions. The whole was of fascines and earth, except the upper part of the wall for two or three feet, which was of sods. In the middle of the fort was a roomy open space eighteen yards long, and as many wide. Midway on the southern side of this space were the soldiers' quarters; and on the north side was a building which was higher than it should have been, and was in consequence blown over by the wind a little afterwards. Experience thus taught us that in this country, where the winds are so furious, houses must be built low. There was also another open space, pretty large, one side of which was closed in by the granary above mentioned, while on another side stood the residence of Laudonnière, looking out upon the river, and with a piazza all round it. The principal door of this opened upon the larger open space; and the rear door, upon the river. At a safe distance from the works, an oven was erected; for, as the houses were roofed with palm-branches, they would very easily have caught fire.

11. Ceremonies performed by Saturioua before going on an expedition against the enemy.

It is mentioned in the account of the second voyages that the French made a treaty of friendship with a powerful chief of the vicinity, named Saturioua, with agreement that they were to erect a fort in his territory, and were to be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies; and, further, that on occasion they should furnish him some arquebusiers. About three months afterwards, he sent messengers to Laudonnière to ask for the arquebusiers according to the treaty, as he was about to make war upon his enemies. Laudonnière, however, sent to him Capt. La Caille with some men, to inform him courteously that he could not just then supply any soldiers, for the reason that he hoped to be able to make peace between the parties. But the chief was indignant at this reply, as he could not now put off his expedition, having got his provisions ready, and summoned the neighboring chiefs to his aid; and he therefore prepared to set out at once. He assembled his men, decorated, after the Indian manner, with feathers and other things, in a level place, the soldiers of Laudonnière being present; and the force sat down in a circle, the chief being in the middle. A fire was then lighted on his left, and two great vessels full of water were set on his right. Then the chief, after rolling his eyes as if excited by anger, uttering some sounds deep down in his throat, and making various gestures, all at once raised a horrid yell; and all his soldiers repeated this yell, striking their hips, and rattling their weapons. Then the chief, taking a wooden platter of water, turned toward the sun, and worshipped it; praying to it for a victory over the enemy, and that, as he should now scatter the water that he had dipped up in the wooden platter, so might their blood be poured out. Then he flung the water with a great cast up into the air; and, as it fell down upon his men, he added, "As I have done with this water, so I pray that you may do with the blood of your enemies." Then he poured the water in the other vase upon the fire, and said, "So may you be able to extinguish your enemies, and bring back their scalps." Then they all arose, and set off by land up the river, upon their expedition.

12. Outina, going at the head of his army against the enemy, consults a sorcerer on the event.

Laudonnière, having received some of the men of the chief, Holata Utina, or Outina, living about forty miles south from the French fort, and who had been taken in a previous expedition by his enemy Saturioua, sent them back to their chief, upon which a solemn league was made, and mutual friendship promised. This treaty was made for the reason that the only road, whether by land or by the rivers, to the Apalatcy Mountains, in which gold, silver, and brass [æs] are found, was through the dominions of this chief; and it was in his friendship, now of scarcely a year's standing, that the French trusted to obtain free access to those mountains. As this friendship, however, was as yet existing, he asked Laudonnière for some arquebusiers, as he wished to make war on an enemy; on which twenty-five were sent him, under D'Ottigny, Laudonnière's lieutenant. The chief received them with great delight, as he made sure of the victory through their assistance; for the fame of the arquebuses had penetrated throughout all that region, and had struck all with terror. The chief having therefore completed his preparations, the army marched. Their first day's journey was easy; the second very difficult, being through swamps thickly overgrown with thorns and brambles. Here the Indians were obliged to carry the French on their shoulders, which was the greater relief by reason of the extreme heats. At length they reached the enemy's territories, when the chief halted his force, and summoning an aged sorcerer, more than a hundred and twenty years old, directed him to report what was the state of affairs with the enemy. The sorcerer accordingly made

ready a place in the middle of the army, and, seeing the shield which D'Ottigny's page was carrying, asked to take it. On receiving it, he laid it on the ground, and drew around it a circle, upon which he inscribed various characters and signs. Then he knelt down on the shield, and sat on his heels, so that no part of him touched the earth, and began to recite some unknown words in a low tone, and to make various gestures, as if engaged in a vehement discourse. This lasted for a quarter of an hour, when he began to assume an appearance so frightful that he was hardly like a human being; for he twisted his limbs so that the bones could be heard to snap out of place, and did many other unnatural things. After going through with all this, he came back all at once to his ordinary condition, but in a very fatigued state, and with an air as if astonished; and then, stepping out of his circle, he saluted the chief, and told him the number of the enemy, and where they were intending to meet him.

13. *Outina, with the help of the French, gains a victory over his enemy Potanou.*

This report so terrified the chief that he began to consider not how to come up with the enemy, but how to get safe back again. But D'Ottigny, greatly vexed at the idea of making such exertions only to return without bringing any thing to pass, threatened to consider him a base chief, and of no courage, if he should not risk an action; and, by force of reproaches and some threats too, brought him to order an attack. He, however, put the French in the advance, as they were quite willing to have him do; and indeed, unless they had sustained the whole brunt of the battle, killing very many of the enemy, and putting to flight the army of the chief Potanou, there is no question but Outina would have been routed; for it became evident that the sorcerer had made a true report of the facts, and he must certainly have been possessed by a devil. Outina, however, quite contented with the flight of the enemy, recalled his men, and marched for home, to the great wrath of D'Ottigny, who wished to follow up the victory.

14. *Order of march observed by Outina on a military expedition.*

When Saturioua went to war, his men preserved no order, but went along one after another, just as it happened. On the contrary, his enemy Holata Outina, whose name, as I now remember, means "king of many kings," and who was much more powerful than he as regards both wealth, and number of his subjects, used to march with regular ranks, like an organized army; himself marching alone in the middle of the whole force, painted red. On the wings, or horns, of his order of march were his young men, the swiftest of whom, also painted red, acted as advanced guards and scouts for reconnoitring the enemy. These are able to follow up the traces of the enemy by scent, as dogs do wild beasts; and, when they come upon such traces, they immediately return to the army to report. And, as we make use of trumpets and drums in our armies to promulgate orders, so they have heralds, who by cries of certain sorts direct when to halt, or to advance, or to attack, or to perform any other military duty. After sunset they halt, and are never wont to give battle. For encamping, they are arranged in squads of ten each, the bravest men being put in squads by themselves. When the chief has chosen the place of encampment for the night, in open fields or woods, and after he has eaten, and is established by himself, the quartermasters place ten of these squads of the bravest men in a circle around him. About ten paces outside of this circle is placed another line of twenty squads; at twenty yards farther, another of forty squads; and so on, increasing the number and distance of these lines, according to the size of the army.

15. *How Outina's men treated the slain of the enemy.*

At no time while the French were acting along with the great chief Holata Outina in his wars against his enemies, was there any combat which could be called a regular battle; but all their military operations consisted either in secret incursions, or in skirmishes as light troops, fresh men being constantly sent out in place of any who retired. Whichever side first slew an enemy, no matter how insignificant the person, claimed the victory, even though losing a greater number of men. In their skirmishes, any who fall are instantly dragged off by persons detailed for the purpose; who, with slips of reeds sharper than any steel blade, cut the skin of the head to the bone, from front to back, all the way round, and pull it off with the hair, more than a foot and a half long, still adhering, done up in a knot on the crown, and with that lower down around the forehead and back cut short into a ring about two fingers wide, like the rim of a hat. Then, if they have time, they dig a hole in the ground, and make a fire, kindling it with some which they keep burning in moss, done up in skins, and carry round with them at their belts; and then dry these scalps to a state as hard as parchment. They also are accustomed, after a battle, to cut off with these reed knives the arms of the dead near the shoulders, and their legs near the hips, breaking the bones, when laid bare, with a club, and then to lay these fresh broken, and still running with blood, over the same fires to be dried. Then hanging them, and the scalps also, to the ends of their spears, they carry them off home in triumph. I used to be astonished at one habit of theirs,—for I was one of the party whom Laudonnière sent out under M. d'Ottigny,—which was, that they never left the field of battle without shooting an arrow as deep as they could into the arms of each of the corpses of the enemy, after mutilating them as above; an operation which was sometimes sufficiently dangerous, unless those engaged in it had an escort of soldiers.

16. *Trophies and ceremonies after a victory.*

After returning from a military expedition, they assemble in a place set apart for the purpose, to which they bring the legs, arms, and scalps which they have taken from the enemy, and with solemn formalities fix them up on tall poles set in the ground in a row. Then they all, men and women, sit down on the ground in a circle before these members; while the sorcerer, holding a small image in his hand, goes through a form of cursing the enemy, uttering in a low voice, according to their manner, a thousand imprecations. At the side of the circle opposite to him, there are placed three men kneeling down, one of whom holds in both hands a club, with which he pounds on a flat stone, marking time to every word of the sorcerer. At each side of him, the other two hold in each hand the fruit of a certain plant, something like a gourd or pumpkin, which has been dried, opened at each end, its marrow and seeds taken out, and then mounted on a stick, and charged with small stones or seeds of some kind. These they rattle after the fashion of a bell, accompanying the words of the sorcerer with a sort of song after their manner. They have such a celebration as this every time they take any of the enemy.

17. *Employments of the hermaphrodites.*

Hermaphrodites, partaking of the nature of each sex, are quite common in these parts, and are considered odious by the Indians themselves, who, however, employ them, as they are strong, instead of beasts of burden. When a chief goes out to war, the hermaphrodites carry the provisions. When

any Indian is dead of wounds or disease, two hermaphrodites take a couple of stout poles, fasten cross-pieces on them, and attach to these a mat woven of reeds. On this they place the deceased, with a skin under his head, a second bound around his body, a third around one thigh, a fourth around one leg. Why these are so used, I did not ascertain; but I imagine by way of ornament, as in some cases they do not go so far, but put the skin upon one leg only. Then they take thongs of hide, three or four fingers broad, fasten the ends to the ends of the poles, and put the middle over their heads, which are remarkably hard; and in this manner they carry the deceased to the place of burial. Persons having contagious diseases are also carried to places appointed for the purpose, on the shoulders of the hermaphrodites, who supply them with food, and take care of them, until they get quite well again.

18. *The chief applied to by women whose husbands have died in war or by disease.*

The wives of such as have fallen in war, or died by disease, are accustomed to get together on some day which they find convenient for approaching the chief. They come before him with great weeping and outcry, sit down on their heels, hide their faces in their hands, and with much clamor and lamentation require of the chief vengeance for their dead husbands, the means of living during their widowhood, and permission to marry again at the end of the time appointed by law. The chief, sympathizing with them, assents; and they go home weeping and lamenting, so as to show the strength of their love for the deceased. After some days spent in this mourning, they proceed to the graves of their husbands, carrying the weapons and drinking-cups of the dead, and there they mourn for them again, and perform other feminine ceremonies.

19. *Ceremonies of women mourning for their deceased husbands.*

After coming to the graves of their husbands, they cut off their hair below the ears, and scatter it upon the graves; and then cast upon them the weapons and drinking-shells of the deceased, as memorials of brave men. This done, they return home, but are not allowed to marry again until their hair has grown long enough to cover their shoulders. They let their nails grow long both on fingers and toes, cutting the former away, however, at the sides, so as to leave them very sharp, the men especially; and, when they take one of the enemy, they sink their nails deep in his forehead, and tear down the skin, so as to wound and blind him.

20. *Mode of treating the sick.*

Their way of curing diseases is as follows: They put up a bench or platform of sufficient length and breadth for the patient, as seen in the plate, and lay the sick person upon it with his face up or down, according to the nature of his complaint; and, cutting into the skin of the forehead with a sharp shell, they suck out blood with their mouths, and spit it into an earthen vessel or a gourd bottle. Women who are suckling boys, or who are with child, come and drink this blood, particularly if it is that of a strong young man; as it is expected to make their milk better, and to render the children who have the benefit of it bolder and more energetic. For those who are laid on their faces, they prepare fumigations by throwing certain seeds on hot coals; the smoke being to pass through the nose and mouth into all parts of the body, and thus to act as a vomit, or to overcome and expel the cause of the disease. They have a certain plant whose name has

escaped me, which the Brazilians call *petum*, and the Spaniards *tapaco*. The leaves of this, carefully dried, they place in the wider part of a pipe ; and setting them on fire, and putting the other end in their mouths, they inhale the smoke so strongly, that it comes out at their mouths and noses, and operates powerfully to expel the humors. In particular, they are extremely subject to the venereal disease, for curing which they have remedies of their own, supplied by nature.

21. *Mode of tilling and planting.*

The Indians cultivate the earth diligently ; and the men know how to make a kind of hoes from fishes' bones, which they fit to wooden handles, and with these they prepare the land well enough, as the soil is light. When the ground is sufficiently broken up and levelled, the women come with beans and millet, or maize. Some go first with a stick, and make holes, in which the others place the beans, or grains of maize. After planting they leave the fields alone, as the winter in that country, situated between the west and the north, is pretty cold for about three months, being from the 24th of December to the 15th of March ; and during that time, as they go naked, they shelter themselves in the woods. When the winter is over, they return to their homes to wait for their crops to ripen. After gathering in their harvest, they store the whole of it for the year's use, not employing any part of it in trade, unless, perhaps, some barter is made for some little household article.

22. *Industry of the Floridians in depositing their crops in the public granary.*

There are in that region a great many islands, producing abundance of various kinds of fruits, which they gather twice a year, and carry home in canoes, and store up in roomy low granaries built of stones and earth, and roofed thickly with palm-branches and a kind of soft earth fit for the purpose. These granaries are usually erected near some mountain, or on the bank of some river, so as to be out of the sun's rays, in order that the contents may keep better. Here they also store up any other provisions which they may wish to preserve, and the remainder of their stores ; and they go and get them as need may require, without any apprehensions of being defrauded. Indeed, it is to be wished, that, among the Christians, avarice prevailed no more than among them, and tormented no more the minds of men.

23. *Bringing in wild animals, fish, and other stores.*

At a set time every year they gather in all sorts of wild animals, fish, and even crocodiles ; these are then put in baskets, and loaded upon a sufficient number of the curly-haired hermaphrodites above mentioned, who carry them on their shoulders to the storehouse. This supply, however, they do not resort to unless in case of the last necessity. In such event, in order to preclude any dissension, full notice is given to all interested ; for they live in the utmost harmony among themselves. The chief, however, is at liberty to take whatever of this supply he may choose.

24. *Mode of drying fish, wild animals, and other provisions.*

In order to keep these animals longer, they are in the habit of preparing them as follows : They set up in the earth four stout forked stakes ; and on these they lay others, so as to form a sort of grating. On this they lay their game, and then build a fire underneath, so as to harden

them in the smoke. In this process they use a great deal of care to have the drying perfectly performed, to prevent the meat from spoiling, as the picture shows. I suppose this stock to be laid in for their winter's supply in the woods, as at that time we could never obtain the least provision from them. For the like reason their granaries, as was related, are placed close under some rock or cliff, near a river, and not far from some deep forest, so that when necessary they can carry a supply in canoes.

25. *Hunting deer.*

The Indians have a way of hunting deer which we never saw before. They manage to put on the skins of the largest which have before been taken, in such a manner, with the heads on their own heads, so that they can see out through the eyes as through a mask. Thus accoutred, they can approach close to the deer without frightening them. They take advantage of the time when the animals come to drink at the river, and, having their bow and arrows all ready, easily shoot them, as they are very plentiful in those regions. It is usual, however, to protect the left arm with the bark of the branch of a tree, to keep it from being grazed by the bow-string,—a practice which they have learned naturally enough. They know how to prepare deer-skins, not with iron instruments, but with shells, in a surprisingly excellent manner; indeed, I do not believe that any European could do it as well.

26. *Killing crocodiles.**

Their way of attacking crocodiles is as follows: They put up, near a river, a little hut full of cracks and holes, and in this they station a watchman, so that he can see the crocodiles, and hear them, a good way off; for, when driven by hunger, they come out of the rivers, and crawl about on the islands after prey, and, if they find none, they make such a frightful noise that it can be heard for half a mile. Then the watchman calls the rest of the watch, who are in readiness; and, taking a portion, ten or twelve feet long, of the stem of a tree, they go out to find the monster, who is crawling along with his mouth wide open, all ready to catch one of them if he can; and with the greatest quickness they push the pole, small end first, as deep as possible down his throat, so that the roughness and irregularity of the bark may hold it from being got out again. Then they turn the crocodile over on his back, and with clubs and arrows pound and pierce his belly, which is softer; for his back, especially if he is an old one, is impenetrable, being protected by hard scales. This is their way of hunting crocodiles; by which they are, nevertheless, so much annoyed that they have to keep up a regular watch against them both day and night, as we should do against the most dangerous enemy.

27. *Floridians crossing over to an island to take their pleasure.*

That country abounds in most delightful islands, as the first pictures of our series show. The rivers are not deep; but the water, which comes not higher than to the breast, is very clear and pure. When they desire to make a little pleasure excursion with their wives and children, to one of these islands, they cross over by swimming, in which they are very skilful; or, if they have young children, by wading. The mother can carry three children at a time, the smallest on one shoulder, and holding it by one arm, the other two holding on to her under her arms; while in

* Probably alligators.

her other hand she holds up a basket full of fruit or other provisions for the occasion. When there is any fear of the enemy, the men take their bows and arrows; and, to keep them from being wet, they attach the quiver to the hair of the head, and hold up in one hand a bow all ready strung, and an arrow, for instant defence if necessary: as in the picture.

28. *Preparations for a feast.*

At the time of year when they are in the habit of feasting each other, they employ cooks, who are chosen on purpose for the business. These, first of all, take a great round earthen vessel (which they know how to make and to burn so that water can be boiled in it as well as in our kettles), and place it over a large wood-fire, which one of them drives with a fan very effectively, holding it in the hand. The head cook now puts the things to be cooked into the great pot; others put water for washing into a hole in the ground; another brings water in a utensil that serves for a bucket; another pounds on a stone the aromatics that are to be used for seasoning; while the women are picking over or preparing the viands. Although they have great festivities, after their manner, yet they are very temperate in eating, and, in consequence, they live to a great age; for one of their inferior chiefs affirmed to me that he was three hundred years old, and that his father, whom he pointed out to me, was fifty years older; indeed, this last personage, I confess, looked like nothing but the bones of a man covered with a skin. Such facts might well make us Christians ashamed, who are so immoderate in indulgence both in eating and drinking, who shorten our own lives thereby, and who richly deserve to be put under the authority of these savages and of brute beasts, to be taught sobriety.

29. *Proceedings of the Floridians in deliberating on important affairs.*

The chief and his nobles are accustomed during certain days of the year to meet early every morning for this express purpose in a public place, in which a long bench is constructed, having at the middle of it a projecting part laid with nine round trunks of trees, for the chief's seat. On this he sits by himself, for distinction's sake; and here the rest come to salute him, one at a time, the oldest first, by lifting both hands twice to the height of the head, and saying, "Ha, he, ya, ha, ha." To this the rest answer, "Ha, ha." Each, as he completes his salutation, takes his seat on the bench. If any question of importance is to be discussed, the chief calls upon his *latias* (that is, his priests) and upon the elders, one at a time, to deliver their opinions. They decide upon nothing until they have held a number of councils over it, and they deliberate very sagely before deciding. Meanwhile the chief orders the women to boil some *casina*; which is a drink prepared from the leaves of a certain root, and which they afterwards pass through a strainer. The chief and his councillors being now seated in their places, one stands before him, and, spreading forth his hands wide open, asks a blessing upon the chief and the others who are to drink. Then the cupbearer brings the hot drink in a capacious shell, first to the chief, and then, as the chief directs, to the rest in their order, in the same shell. They esteem this drink so highly, that no one is allowed to drink it in council unless he has proved himself a brave warrior. Moreover, this drink has the quality of at once throwing into a sweat whoever drinks it. On this account those who cannot keep it down, but whose stomachs reject it, are not intrusted with any difficult commission, or any military responsibility, being considered unfit, for they often have to go three or four days without food; but one who can drink this liquor can go for twenty-four hours afterwards without

eating or drinking. In military expeditions, also, the only supplies which the hermaphrodites carry consist of gourd bottles or wooden vessels full of this drink. It strengthens and nourishes the body, and yet does not fly to the head; as we have observed on occasion of these feasts of theirs.

30. *Construction of fortified towns among the Floridians.*

The Indians are accustomed to build their fortified towns as follows: A position is selected near the channel of some swift stream. They level it as even as possible, and then dig a ditch in a circle around the site, in which they set thick round pales, close together, to twice the height of a man; and they carry this paling some ways past the beginning of it, spiral-wise, to make a narrow entrance admitting not more than two persons abreast. The course of the stream is also diverted to this entrance; and at each end of it they are accustomed to erect a small round building, each full of cracks and holes, and built, considering their means, with much elegance. In these they station as sentinels men who can smell the traces of an enemy at a great distance, and who, as soon as they perceive such traces, set off to discover them. As soon as they find them, they set up a cry which summons those within the town to the defence, armed with bows and arrows and clubs. The chief's dwelling stands in the middle of the town, and is partly underground, in consequence of the sun's heat. Around this are the houses of the principal men, all lightly roofed with palm-branches, as they are occupied only nine months in the year; the other three, as has been related, being spent in the woods. When they come back, they occupy their houses again; and, if they find that the enemy has burnt them down, they build others of similar materials. Thus magnificent are the palaces of the Indians.

31. *How they set on fire an enemy's town.*

For the enemy, eager for revenge, sometimes will creep up by night in the utmost silence, and reconnoitre to see if the watch be asleep. If they find every thing silent, they approach the rear of the town, set fire to some dry moss from trees, which they prepare in a particular manner, and fasten to the heads of their arrows. They then fire these into the town, so as to ignite the roofs of the houses, which are made of palm-branches thoroughly dried with the summer heats. As soon as they see that the roofs are burning, they make off as fast as possible, before they are discovered, and they move so swiftly that it is a hard matter to overtake them; and meanwhile also the fire is giving the people in the town enough to do to save themselves from it, and get it under. Such are the stratagems used in war by the Indians for firing the enemy's towns; but the damage done is trifling, as it amounts only to the labor required for putting up new houses.

32. *How sentinels are punished for sleeping on their posts.*

But, when the burning of a town has happened in consequence of the negligence of the watch, the penalty is as follows: The chief takes his place alone on his bench, those next to him in authority being seated on another long bench curved in a half circle; and the executioner orders the culprit to kneel down before the chief. He then sets his left foot on the delinquent's back; and, taking in both hands a club of ebony or some other hard wood, worked to an edge at the sides, he strikes him on the head with it, so severely as almost to split the skull open. The same penalty is inflicted for some other crime reckoned capital among them; for we saw two persons punished in this same way.

33. *How they declare war.*

A chief who declares war against his enemy does not send a herald to do it, but orders some arrows, having locks of hair fastened at the notches, to be stuck up along the public ways; as we observed when, after taking the chief Outina prisoner, we carried him around to the towns under his authority, to make them furnish us provisions.

34. *First-born children sacrificed to the chief with solemn ceremonies.*

Their custom is to offer up the first-born son to the chief. When the day for the sacrifice is notified to the chief, he proceeds to a place set apart for the purpose, where there is a bench for him, on which he takes his seat. In the middle of the area before him is a wooden stump two feet high, and as many thick, before which the mother sits on her heels, with her face covered in her hands, lamenting the loss of her child. The principal one of her female relatives or friends now offers the child to the chief in worship, after which the women who have accompanied the mother form a circle, and dance around with demonstrations of joy, but without joining hands. She who holds the child goes and dances in the middle, singing some praises of the chief. Meanwhile, six Indians, chosen for the purpose, take their stand apart in a certain place in the open area; and midway among them the sacrificing officer, who is decorated with a sort of magnificence, and holds a club. The ceremonies being through, the sacrificer takes the child, and slays it in honor of the chief, before them all, upon the wooden stump. This offering was on one occasion performed in our presence.

35. *Solemnities at consecrating the skin of a stag to the sun.*

The subjects of the chief Outina were accustomed every year, a little before their spring, that is, in the end of February, to take the skin of the largest stag they could get, keeping the horns on it; to stuff it full of all the choicest sorts of roots that grow among them, and to hang long wreaths or garlands of the best fruits on the horns, neck, and other parts of the body. Thus decorated, they carried it, with music and songs, to a very large and splendid level space, where they set it up on a very high tree, with the head and breast toward the sunrise. They then offered prayers to the sun, that he would cause to grow on their lands good things such as those offered him. The chief, with his sorcerer, stands nearest the tree, and offers the prayer; the common people, placed at a distance, make responses. Then the chief and all the rest, saluting the sun, depart, leaving the deer's hide there until the next year. This ceremony they repeat annually.

36. *The youth at their exercises.*

Their youth are trained in running, and a prize is offered for him who can run longest without stopping; and they frequently practise with the bow. They also play a game of ball, as follows: in the middle of an open space is set up a tree some eight or nine fathoms high, with a square frame woven of twigs on the top; this is to be hit with the ball, and he who strikes it first gets a prize. They are also fond of amusing themselves with hunting and fishing.

37. *The display with which a queen elect is brought to the king.*

When a king chooses to take a wife, he directs the tallest and handsomest of the daughters of the chief men to be selected. Then a seat is made on two stout poles, and covered with the skin

of some rare sort of animal, while it is set off with a structure of boughs, bending over forward so as to shade the head of the sitter. The queen elect having been placed on this, four strong men take up the poles, and support them on their shoulders; each carrying in one hand a forked wooden stick to support the pole at halting. Two more walk at the sides; each carrying on a staff a round screen elegantly made, to protect the queen from the sun's rays. Others go before, blowing upon trumpets made of bark, which are smaller above, and larger at the farther end, and having only the two orifices, one at each end. They are hung with small oval balls of gold, silver, and brass, for the sake of a finer combination of sounds. Behind follow the most beautiful girls that can be found, elegantly decorated with necklaces and armlets of pearls, each carrying in her hand a basket full of choice fruits; and belted below the navel, and down to the thighs, with the moss of certain trees, to cover their nakedness. After them come the body-guards.

38. *Solemnities at the reception of the queen by the king.*

With this display the queen is brought to the king in a place arranged for the purpose, where a good-sized platform is built up of round logs, having on either side a long bench where the chief men are seated. The king sits on the platform on the right-hand side. The queen, who is placed on the left, is congratulated by him on her accession, and told why he chose her for his first wife. She, with a certain modest majesty, and holding her fan in her hand, answers with as good a grace as she can. Then the young women form a circle without joining hands, and with a costume differing from the usual one; for their hair is tied at the back of the neck, and then left to flow over the shoulders and back; and they wear a broad girdle below the navel, having in front something like a purse, which hangs down so as to cover their nudity. To the rest of this girdle are hung ovals of gold and silver, coming down upon the thighs, so as to tinkle when they dance, while at the same time they chant the praises of the king and queen. In this dance they all raise and lower their hands together. All the men and women have the ends of their ears pierced, and pass through them small oblong fish-bladders, which when inflated shine like pearls, and which, being dyed red, look like a light-colored carbuncle. It is wonderful that men so savage should be capable of such tasteful inventions.

39. *The king and queen taking a walk for their amusement.*

Sometimes the king likes to take a walk in the evening in a neighboring wood, alone with his principal wife, wearing a deer's hide so elegantly prepared, and painted of various colors, so that nothing more beautifully finished can be seen anywhere. Two young men walk at his sides, carrying fans to make a breeze for him; while a third, ornamented with little gold and silver balls hanging to his belt, goes behind, and holds up the deer's hide, so that it shall not drag on the ground. The queen and her handmaids are adorned with belts hung on the shoulders or around the body, made of a kind of moss that grows on some trees; with slender filaments which are attached to each other, after the fashion of links of a chain, of a bluish-green color, and so beautiful in texture that it might be mistaken for filaments of silk. The trees laden with this moss are beautiful to see; for it sometimes hangs down from the highest boughs of a very tall tree to the ground. While hunting once with some of my fellow-soldiers in the woods near King Saturioua's residence, I saw him and his queen thus decorated.

The reader should be informed that all these chiefs and their wives ornament their skin with punctures arranged so as to make certain designs, as the following pictures show. Doing this sometimes makes them sick for seven or eight days. They rub the punctured places with a certain herb, which leaves an indelible color. For the sake of further ornament and magnificence, they let the nails of their fingers and toes grow, scraping them down at the sides with a certain shell, so that they are left very sharp. They are also in the habit of painting the skin around their mouths of a blue color.

40. *Ceremonies at the death of a chief or of priests.*

When a chief in that province dies, he is buried with great solemnities; his drinking-cup is placed on the grave, and many arrows are planted in the earth about the mound itself. His subjects mourn for him three whole days and nights, without taking any food. All the other chiefs, his friends, mourn in like manner; and both men and women, in testimony of their love for him, cut off more than half their hair. Besides this, for six months afterwards certain chosen women three times every day, at dawn, noon, and twilight, mourn for the deceased king with a great howling. And all his household stuff is put into his house, which is set on fire, and the whole burned up together.

In like manner, when their priests die, they are buried in their own houses; which are then set on fire, and burned up with all their furniture.

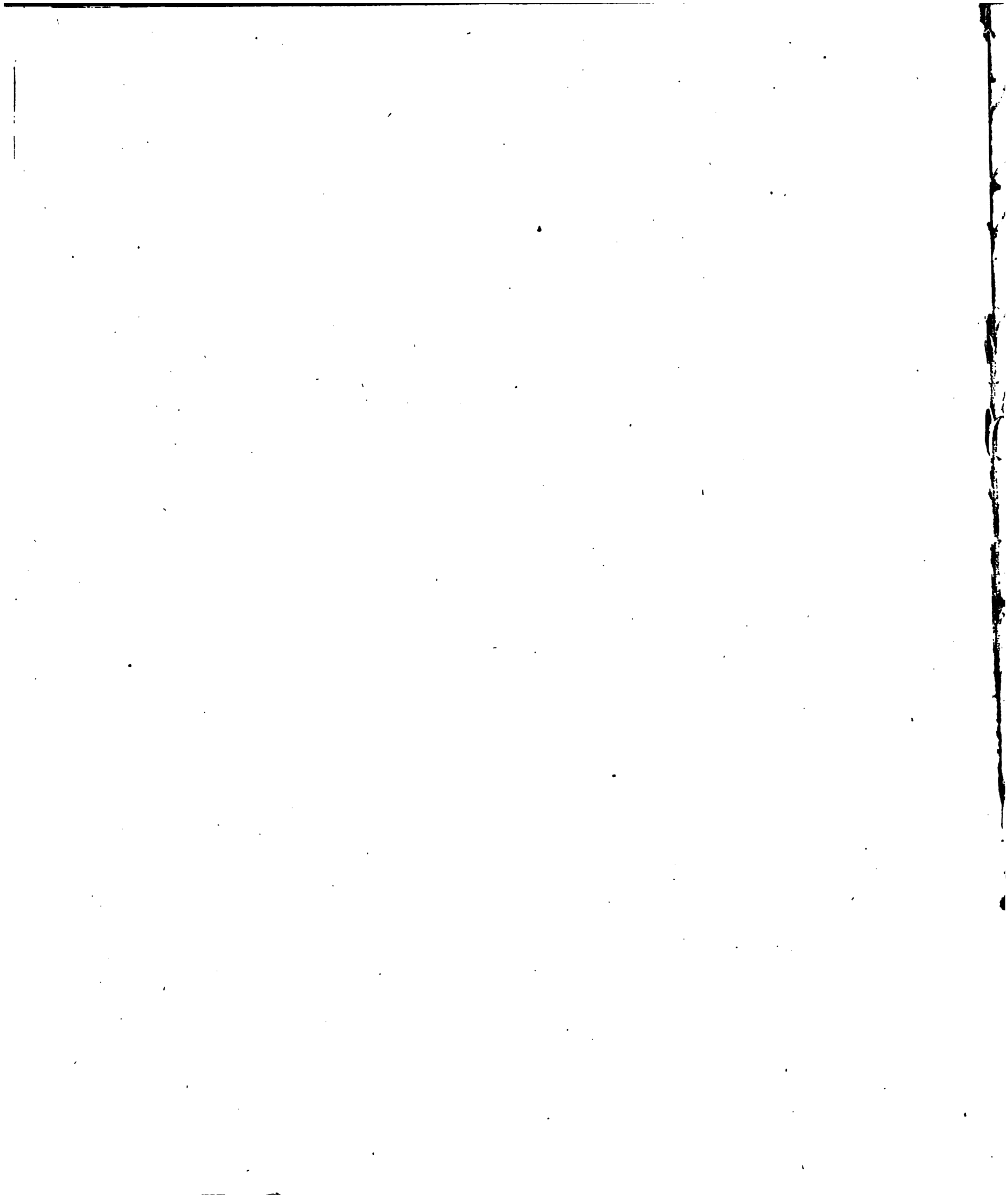
41. *Mode of collecting gold in streams running from the Apalatcy Mountains.*

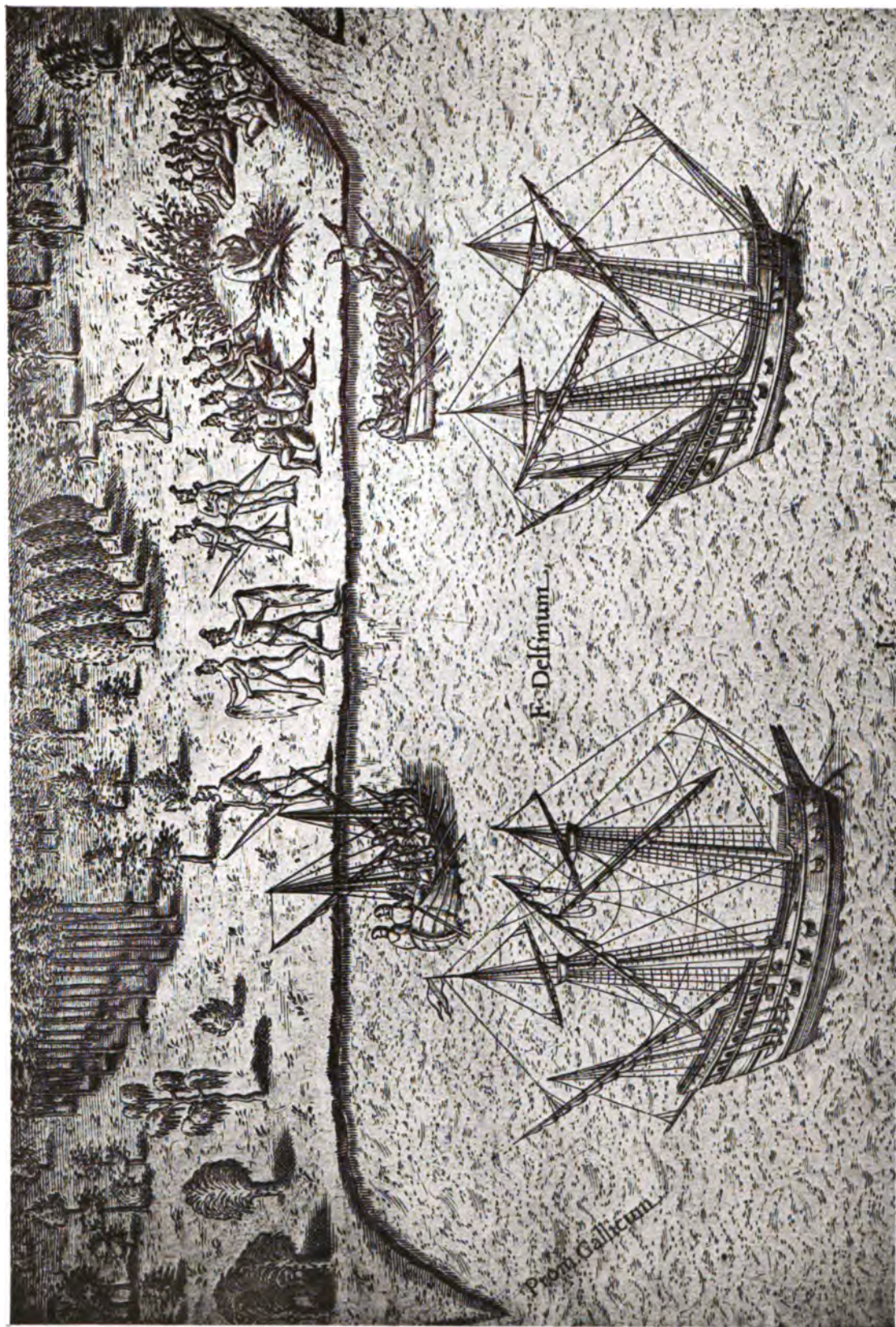
A great way from the place where our fort was built, are great mountains, called in the Indian language Apalatcy; in which, as the map shows, arise three great rivers, in the sands of which are found much gold, silver, and brass, mixed together. Accordingly, the natives dig ditches in these streams, into which the sand brought down by the current falls by gravity. Then they collect it out, and carry it away to a place by itself, and after a time collect again what continues to fall in. They then convey it in canoes down the great river which we named the River of May, and which empties into the sea. The Spaniards have been able to use for their advantage the wealth thus obtained.

42. *Murder of Pierre Gambré, a Frenchman.*

I have spoken in my Brief Account of one Pierre Gambré, a Frenchman, who obtained a license from Laudonnière for carrying goods, and trading, throughout the province; and who was successful enough not only to accumulate considerable means, but also to marry into the family of a certain chief of the country. Being seized with an earnest desire of returning to see his friends at the fort, he urged his new relative until he got permission to go, but on condition of returning within a fixed number of months; and a canoe was provided for him besides, and two Indians to convey him. The goods which he had obtained were stowed in the boat; and his Indian companions murdered him while on the journey, while he was stooping over to make a fire. This was done partly in revenge, as he had, while acting in the chief's absence in his stead, beaten one of them with his fists; and partly out of greediness for the riches which the soldier had with him in the boat. These they took, and fled; and the facts were unknown for a long time.

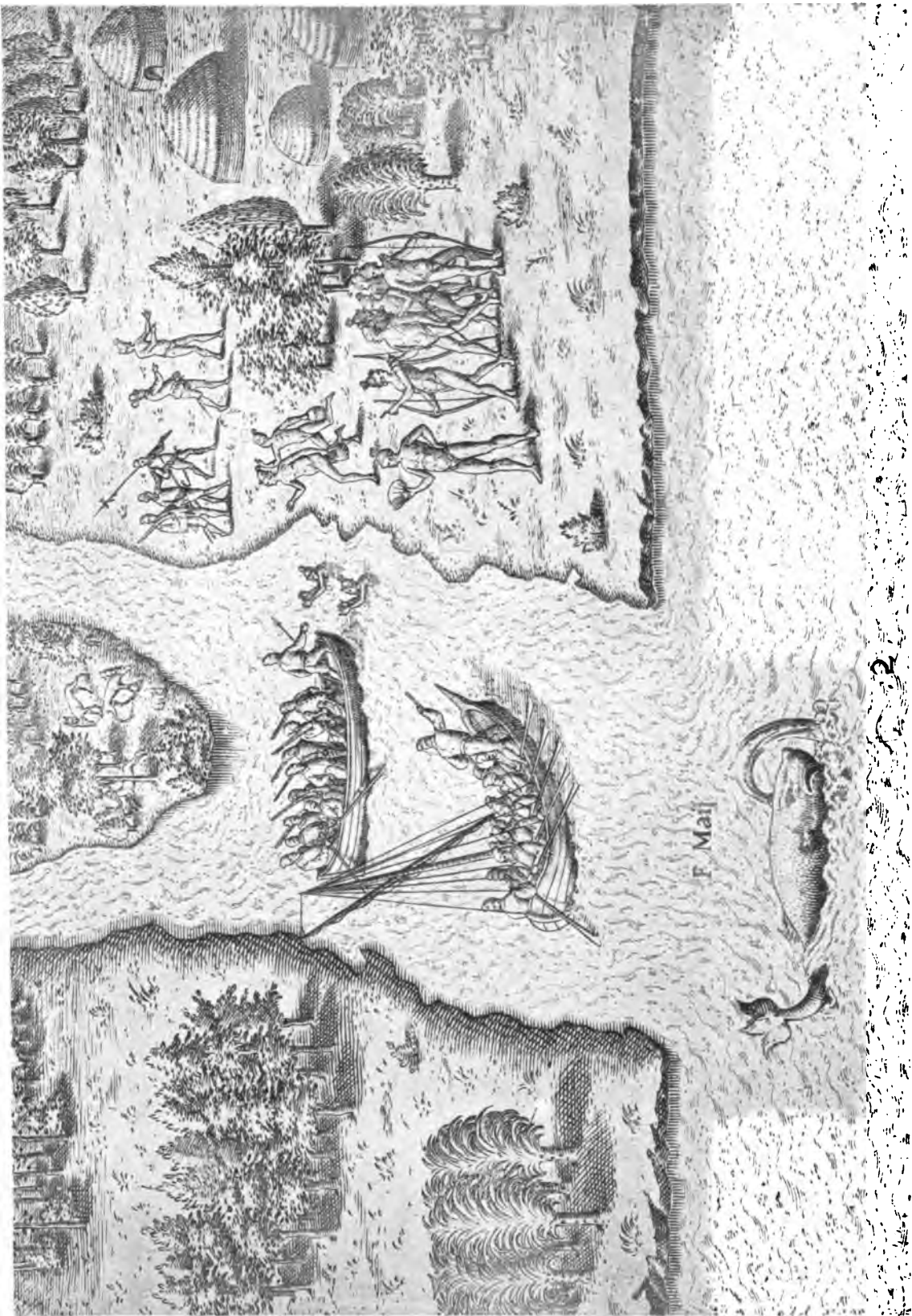
This picture, not to interrupt the series of those preceding it, is put last; nor would it have been inserted at all, had not the author of the Brief Account remembered the circumstances.





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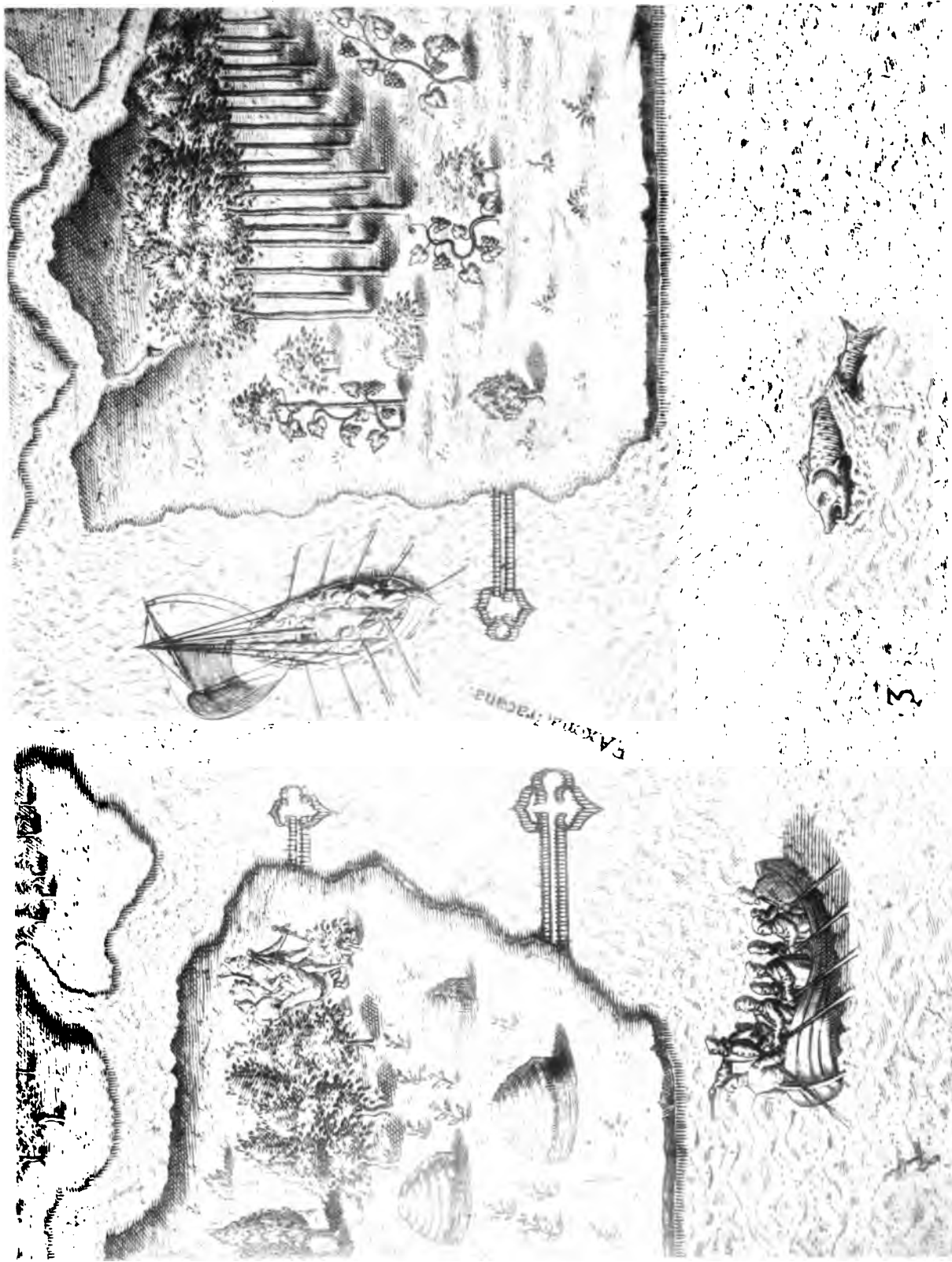


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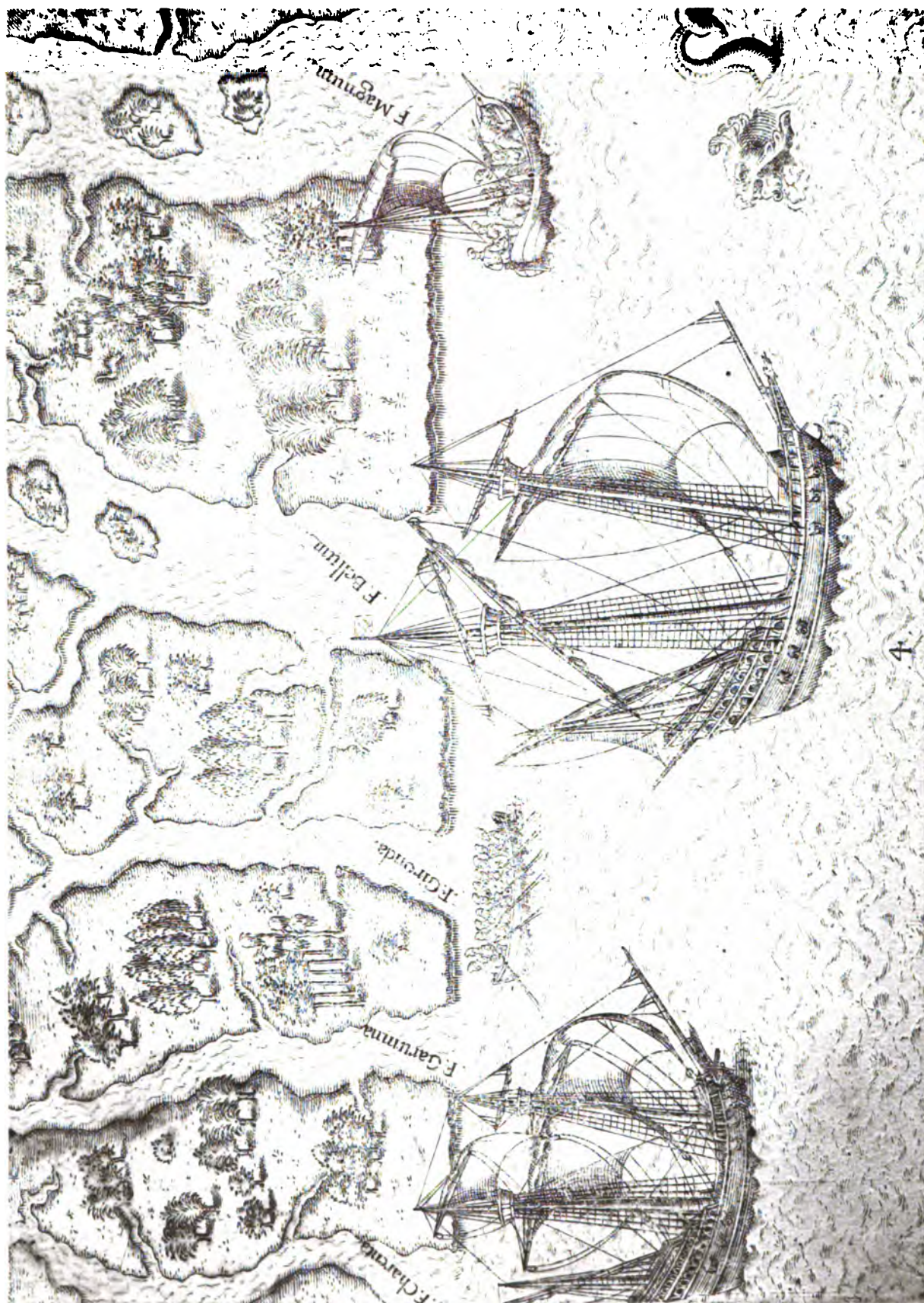


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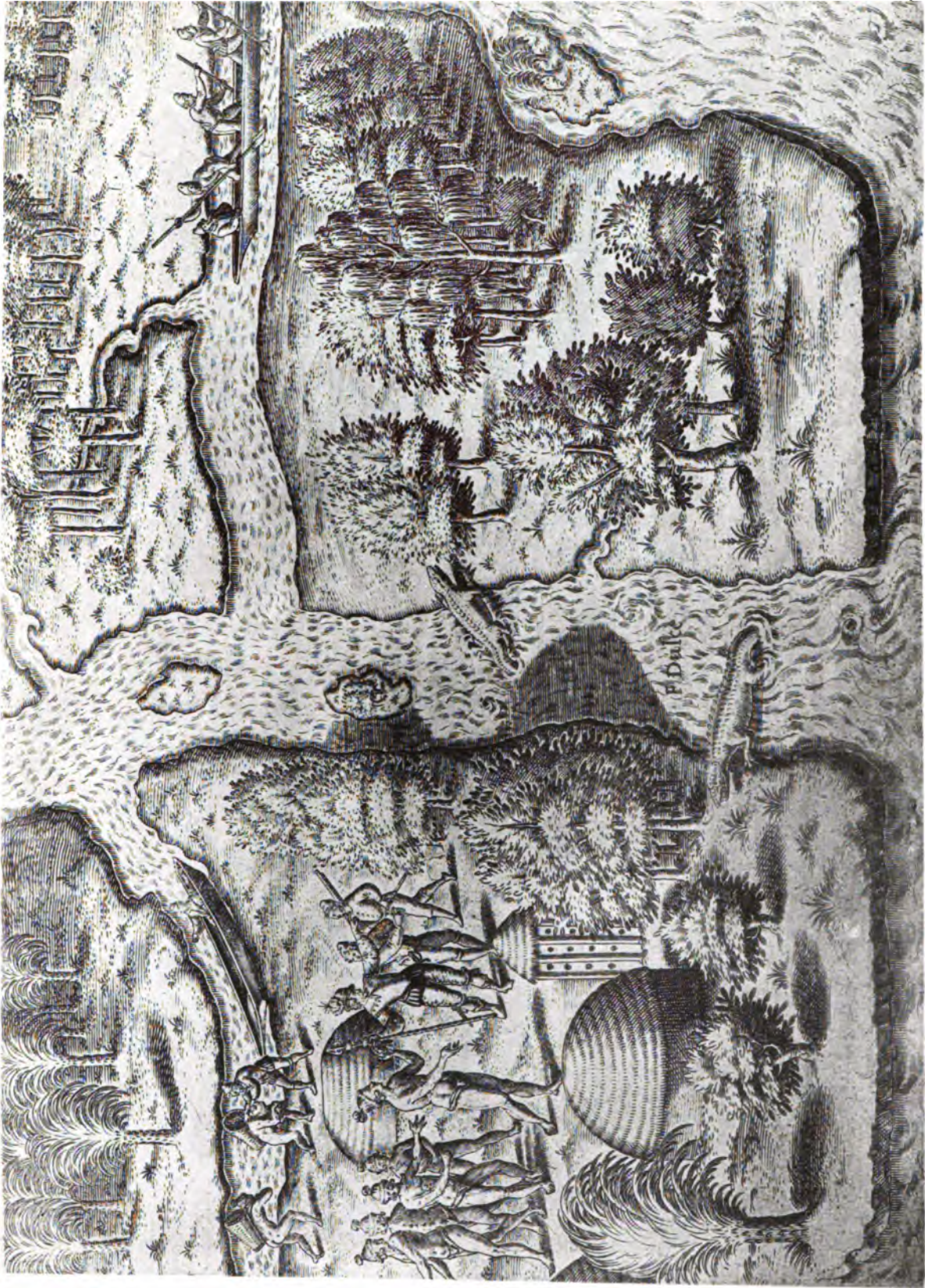
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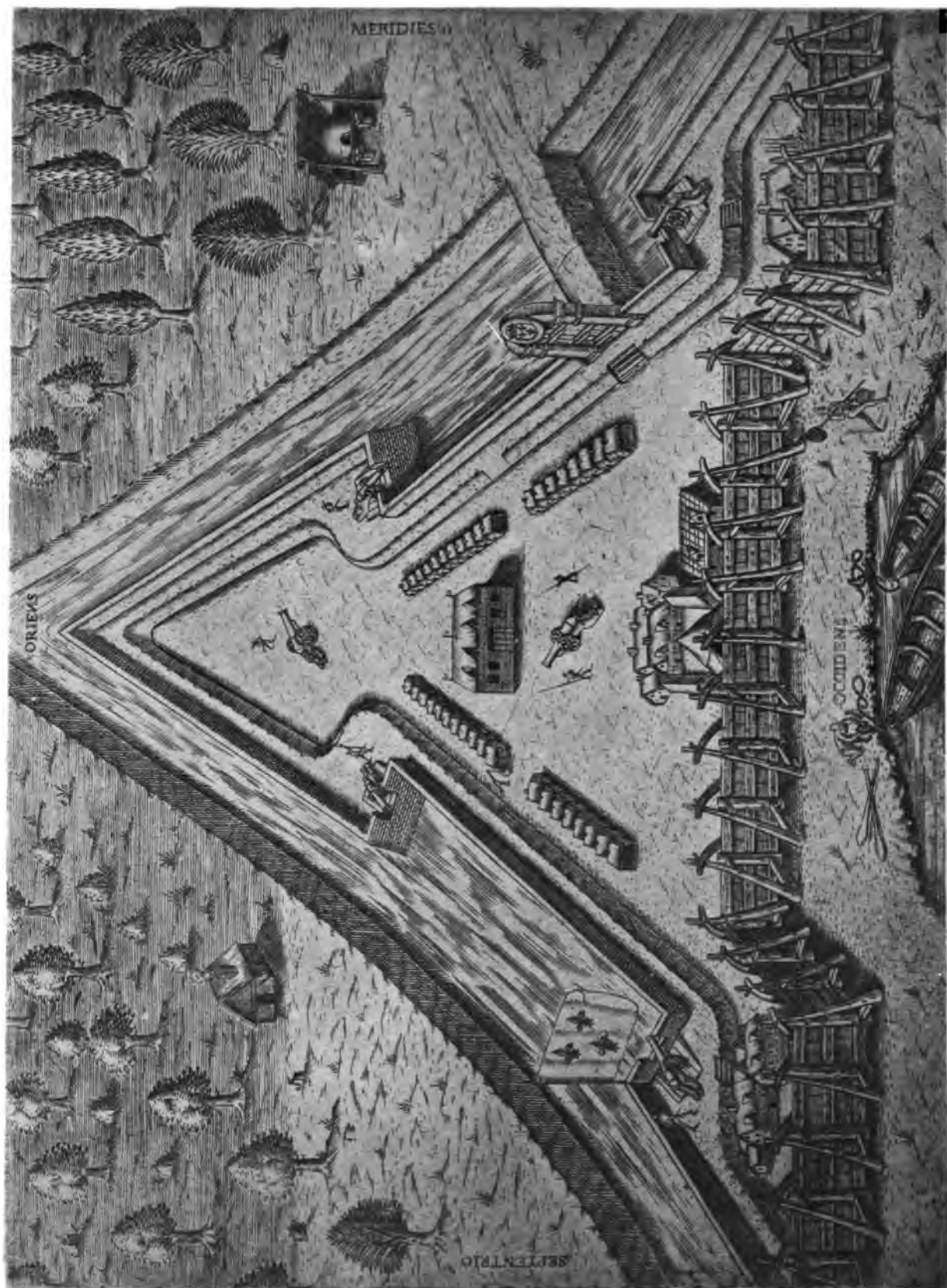


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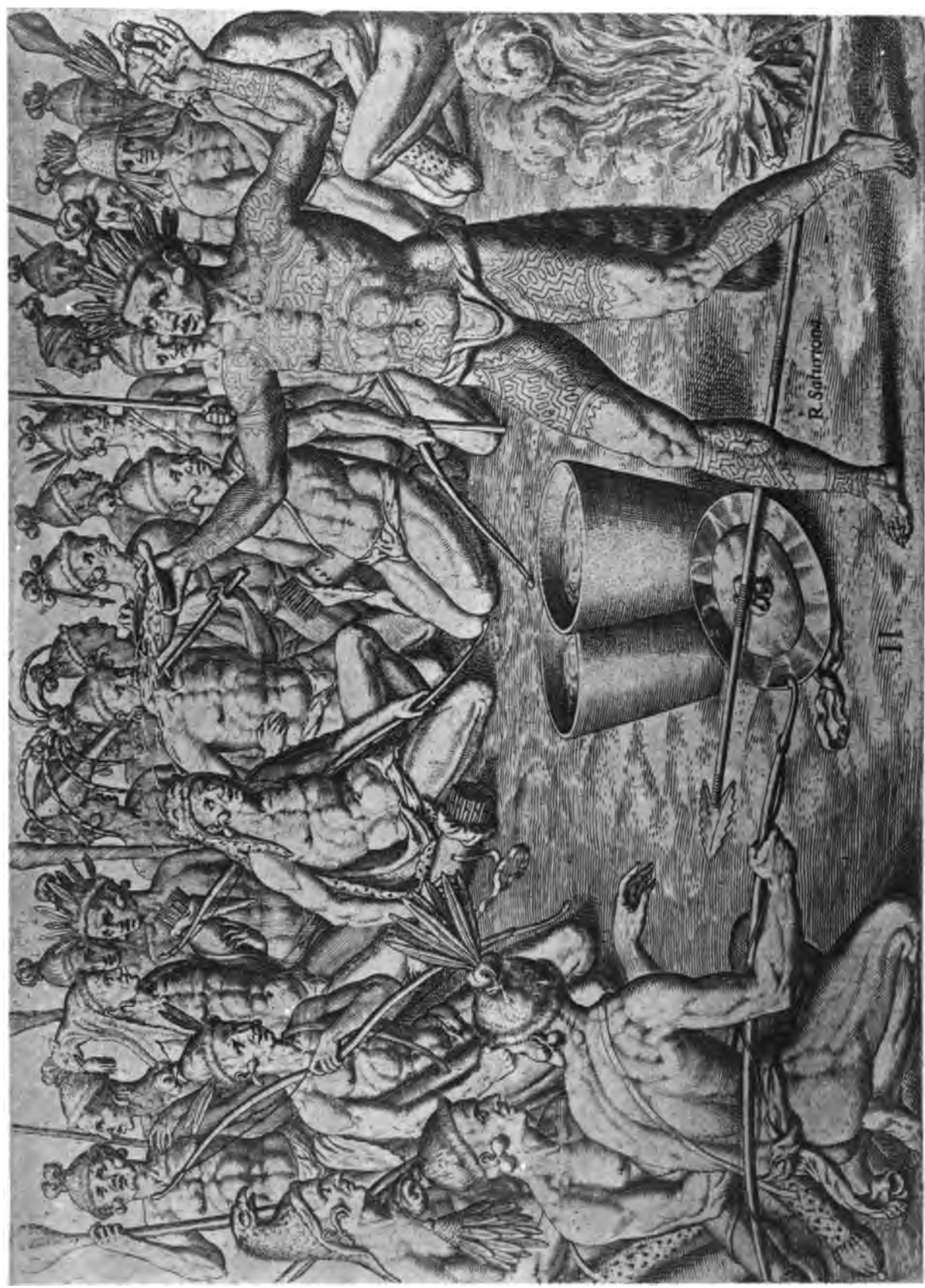
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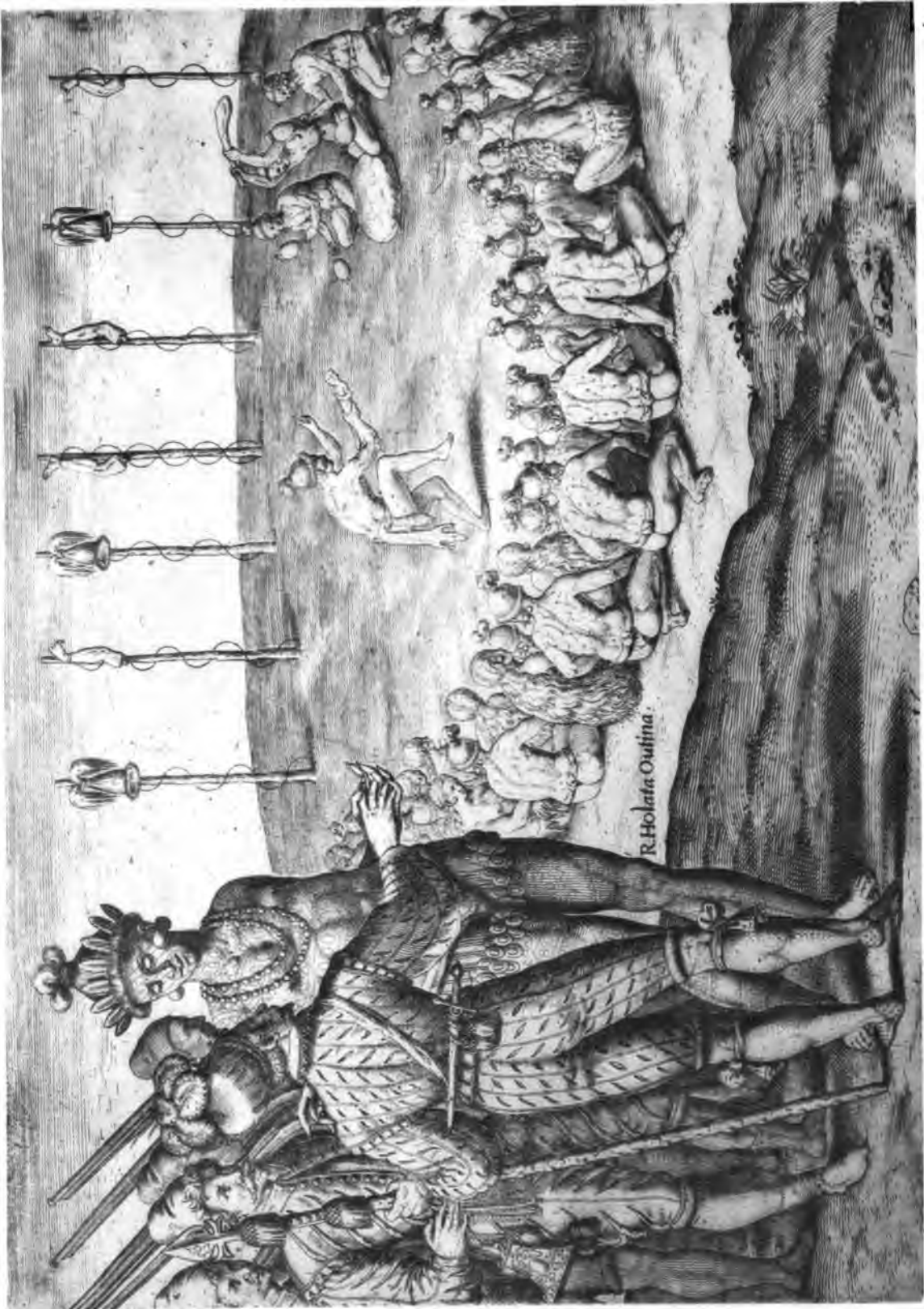












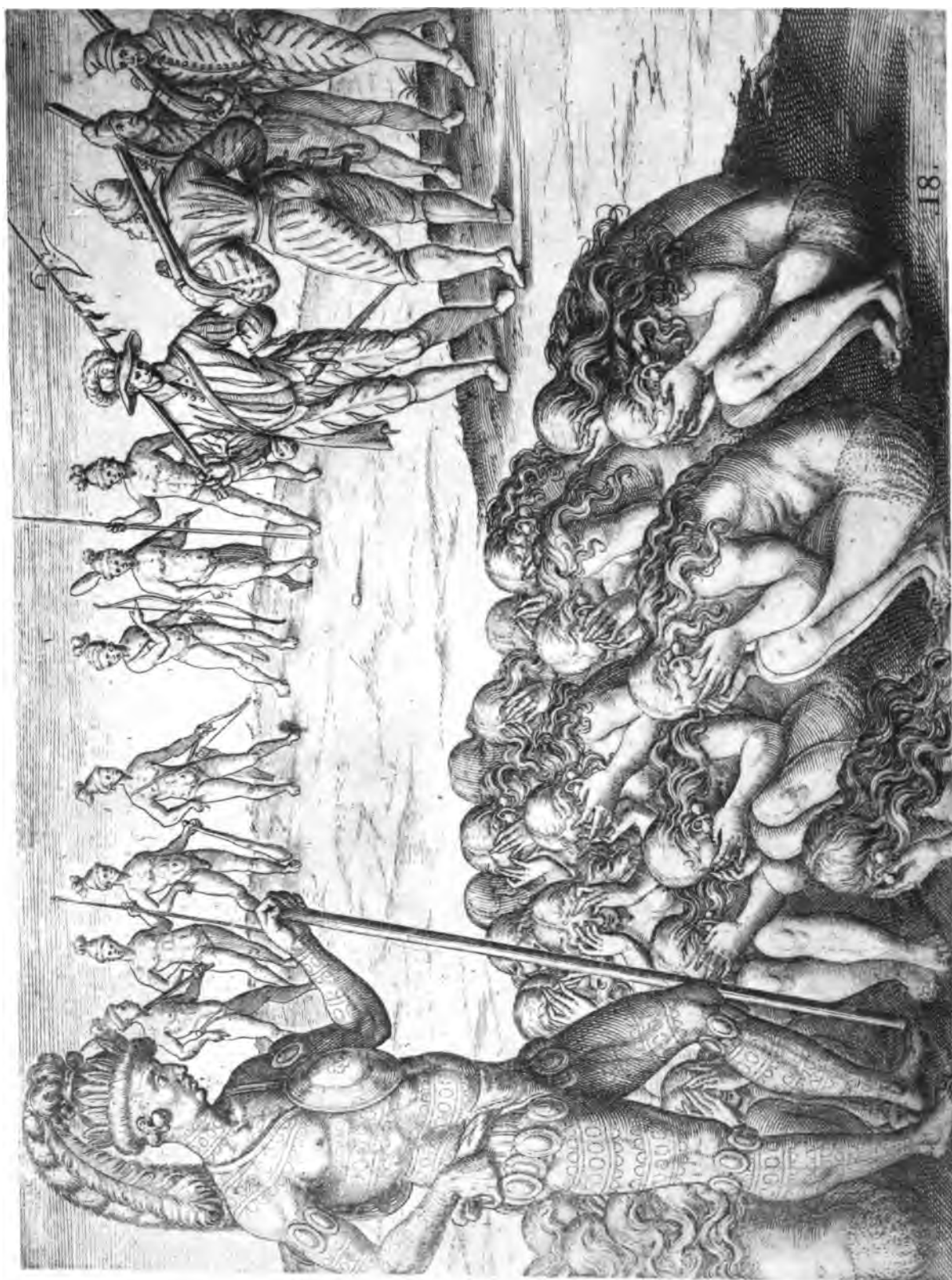
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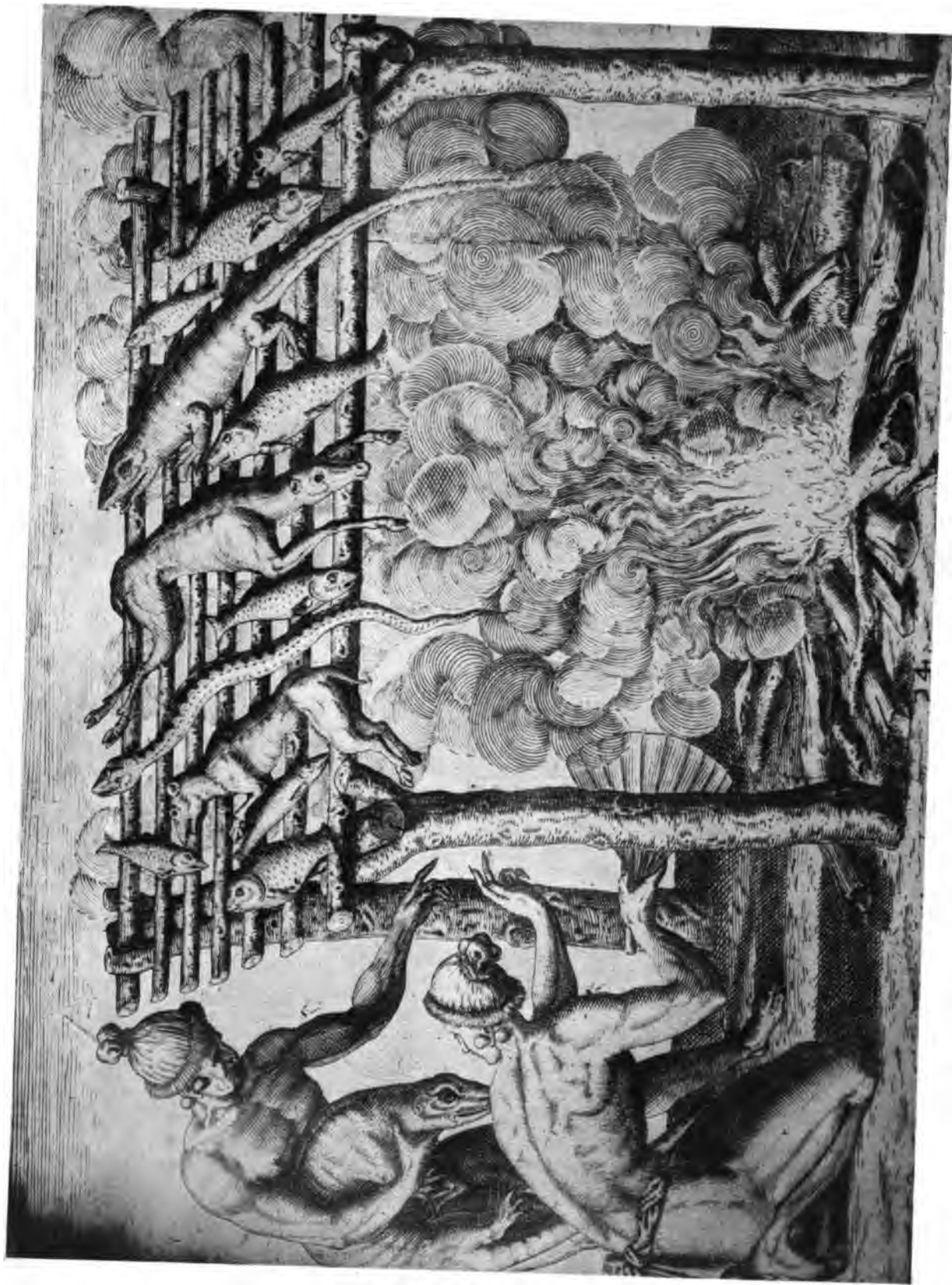


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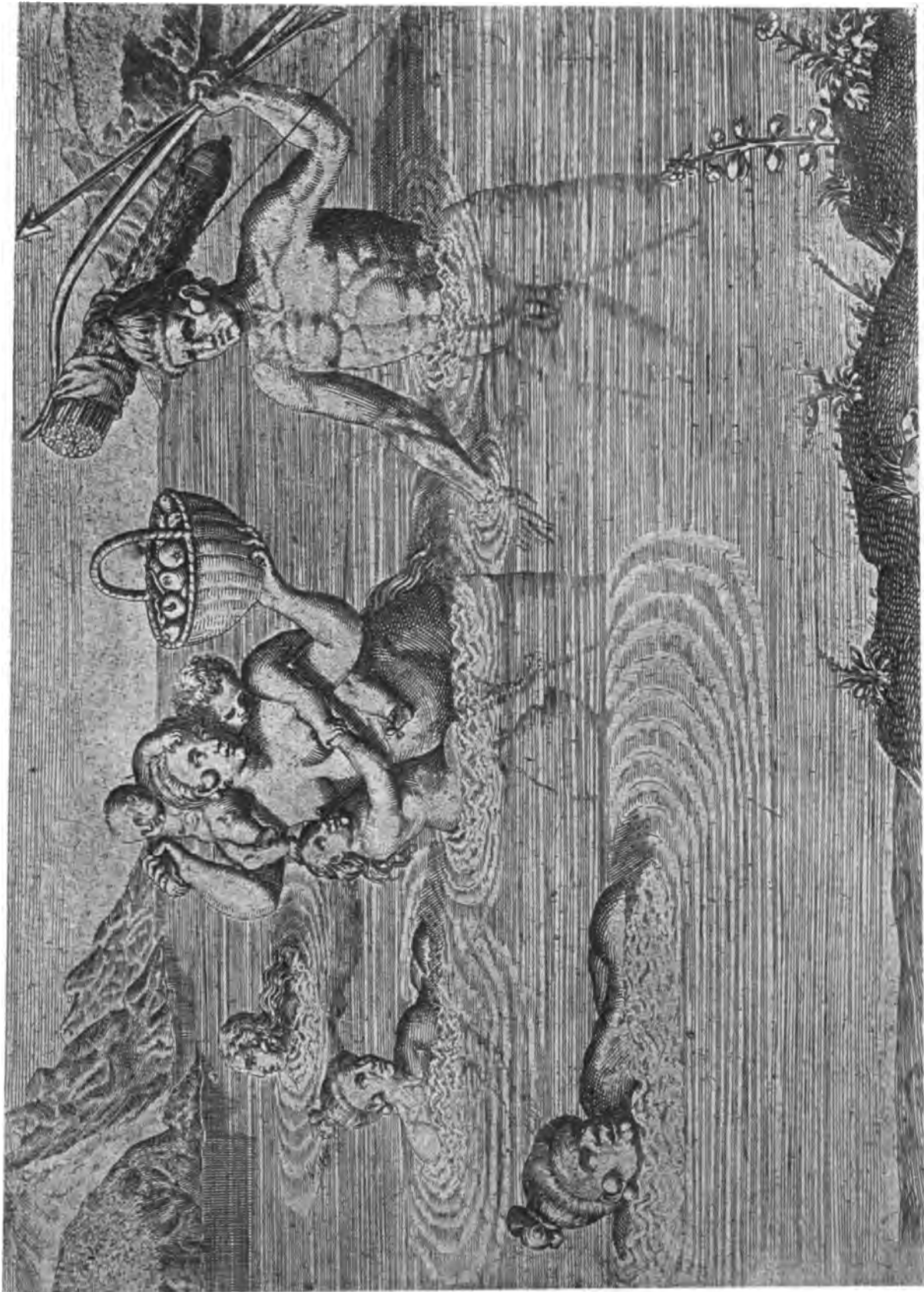
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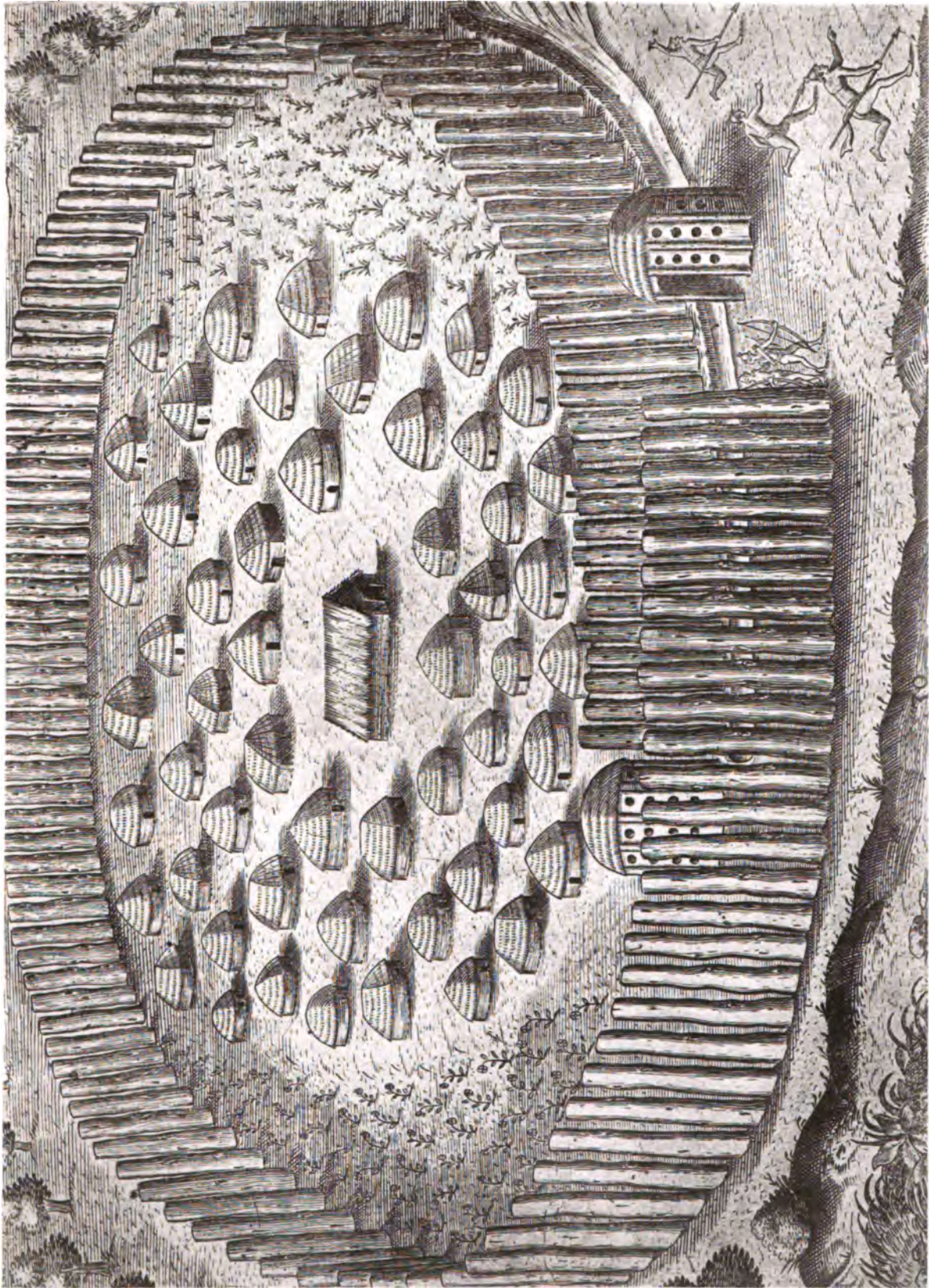




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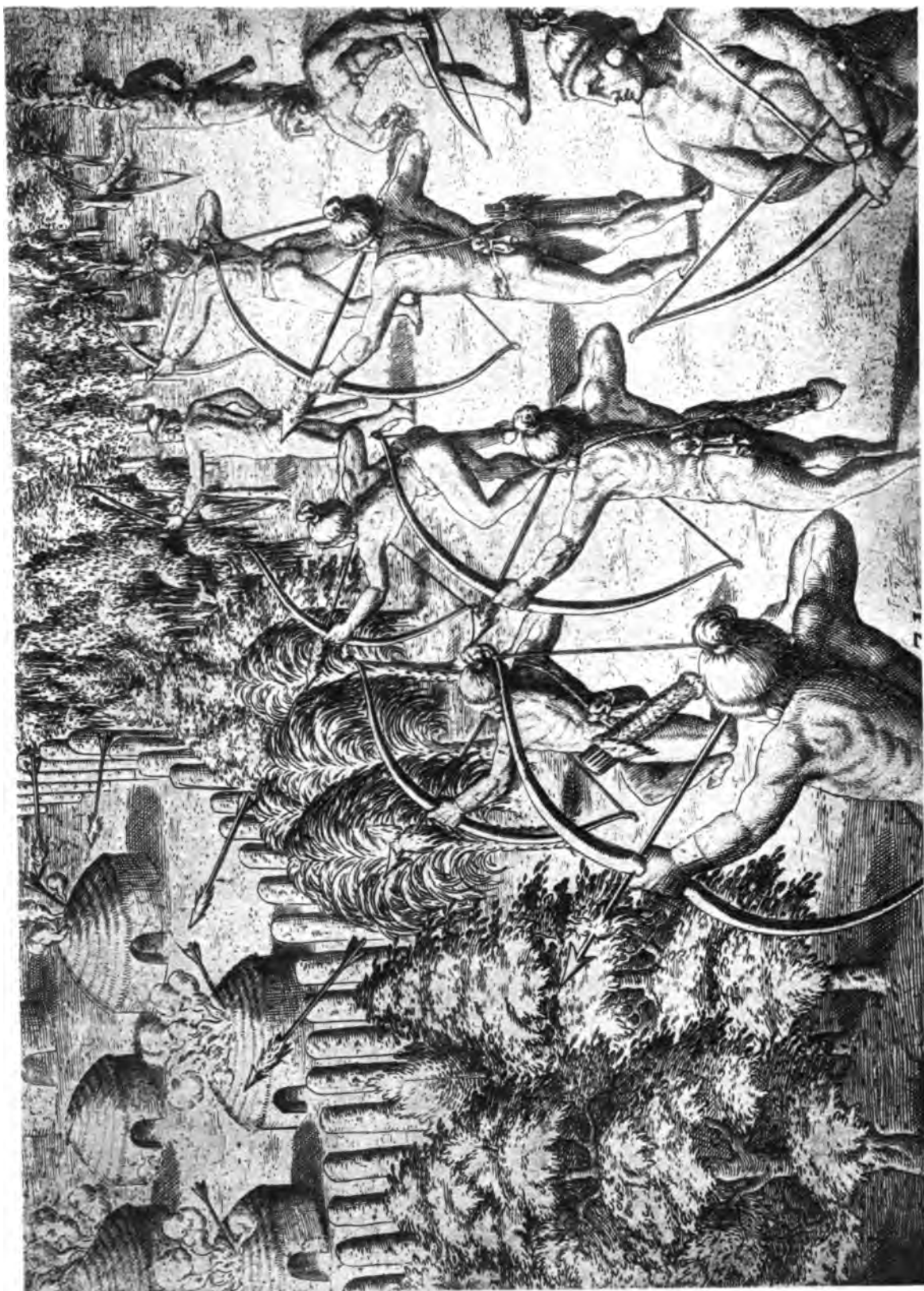






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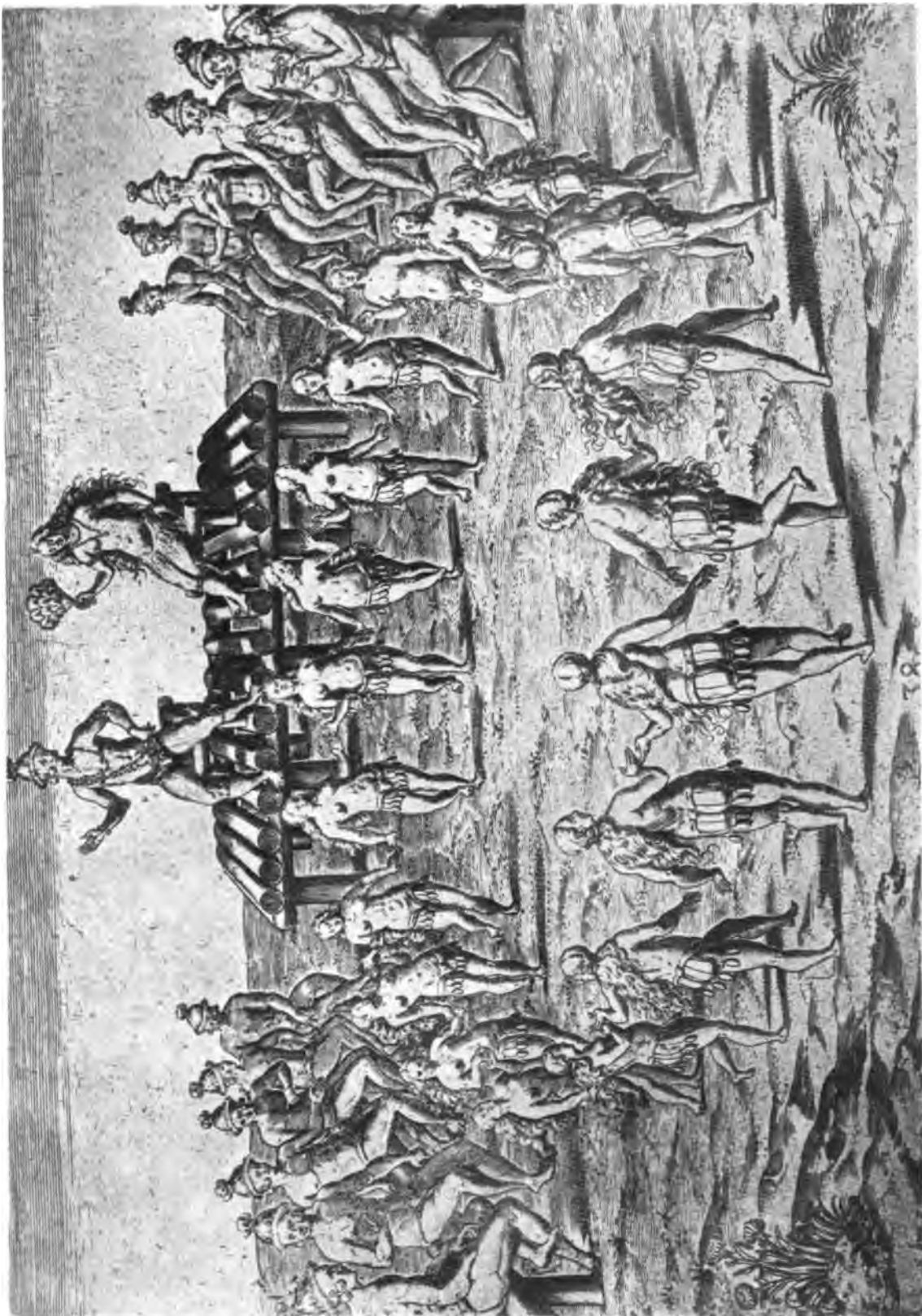




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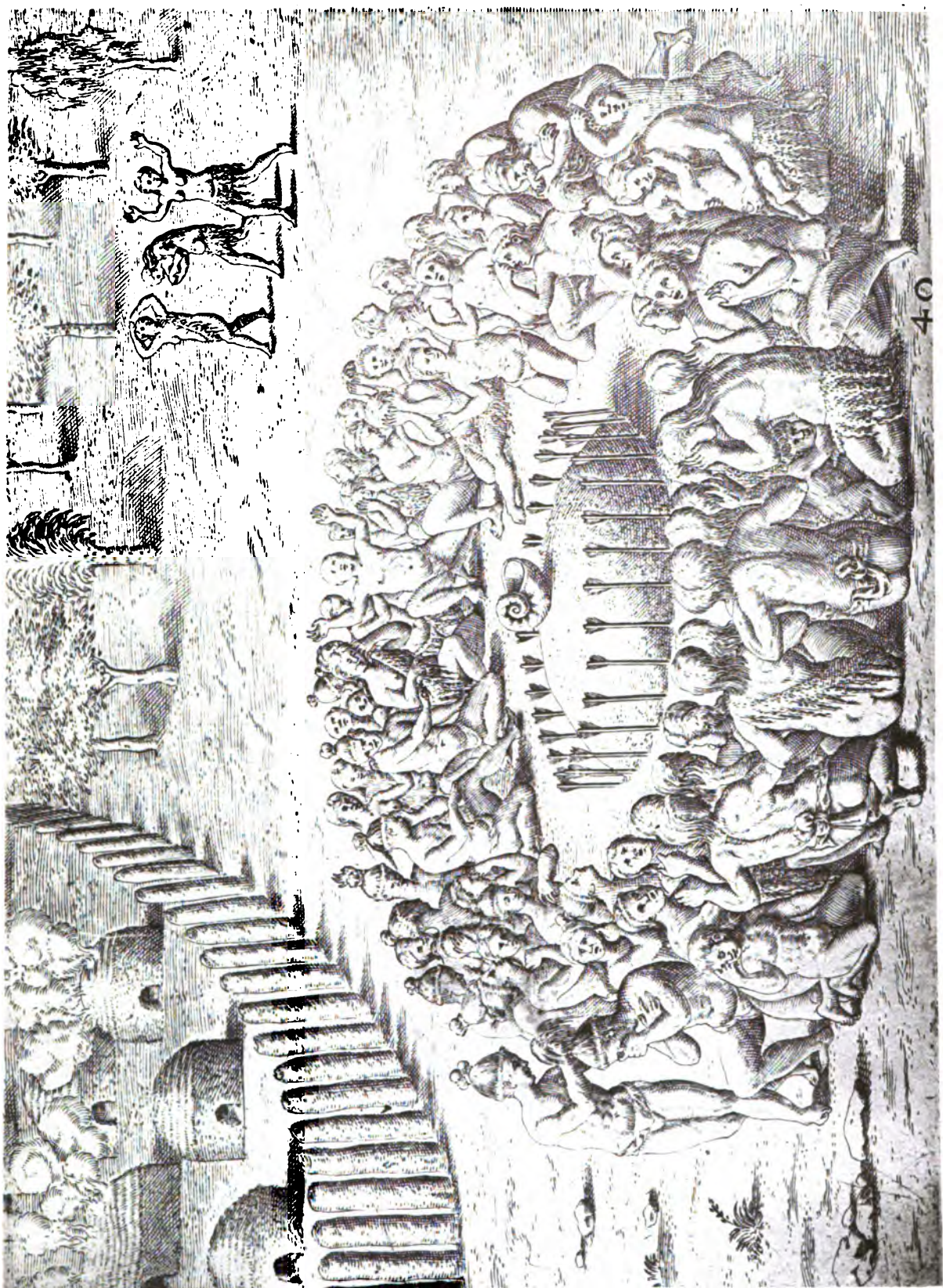




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